

N O

DEMOCRACY
IN THE
CHURCH;
OR,

The People's pretended unalienable Right to
chuse their Minister upon Avoidance,

Examined, from

Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity.

By THOMAS BREVITER, A. M. Rector of
Badony in the Diocese of Derry.

2 Tim. 4. 3, 4. *For the Time will come when they
will not endure sound Doctrine, but after their
own Lusts shall they heap to themselves Teachers hav-
ing itching Ears. And they shall turn away their
Ears from the Truth, and shall be turned into Fables.*

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria Vulgus.

D U B L I N .

Printed by S. POWELL,

And Sold by J. LEATHLEY, in *Dame's-street*,
and S. BLOCK, at the *Stationers-Arms* in
Castle-street, 1735.





N O.

DEMOCRACY

I N T H E

CHURCH, &c.

THERE have been (ever since I came to live in the *North*) very warm Disputes among Protestant Dissenters concerning the Choice of a Teacher, whenever any of their Conventicles happen'd to be vacant. There is now a Vacancy in the Parish of

A 2

Urney,

Urney, (a) as there lately was in the Parish of (b) Ardstra, and therefore to prevent noise and confusion in the Neighbourhood, I think my self obliged to consider what their Arguments are founded upon, who plead for the People's Right in the choice of a Minister.

I am far from envying the Dissenters the Toleration granted to them by the Legislature, but I cannot forbear reminding them of what they themselves severely

(a) Upon the Death of Mr. Holmes.

(b) Upon Mr. Isaac Taylor's Conformity to our Church who being fully convinced of his former Errors, was ordained by the late Bishop of Derry, and licensed to serve the Cure of Ardstra, where he still officiates and deserves further Encouragement in our Church. At Ardstra, near the River Derg, in the County of Tyrone, Eugenius late first Bishop. From Ardstra, the Episcopal See was translated to Maghera, which was dedicated to St. Luroch, whose Festival is on the 17th of February, from whence I believe the Bishops of that See are stiled Rathlurienses. At length about the Year 1150, Maurice, called by the Irish Mureach O' Coffy, or Colthaigh removed the See to Derry. See Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 131. his Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland, p. 48, 49. Derry or Derrymagh lingua Scotorum significat campum Roborum (saith Bede) which in Irish (that was the ancient Scottish) signifies a Field or Plain of Oaks; for which Reason Derry in Cole's Dictionary is called Roboretum. For the Place was a Wood when granted to the Londoners, and was heretofore called Daire-Calgac, that is, the place of Oaks of Calgac, and sometimes Daire-Columbkil, and in the antient Roman Provincial, Darrich. The Translator of Sir James Ware's Antiquities, p. 40, says, The Bishop of Derry, next to the Bishop of Meath, has Precedence of all other Bishops. But this was occasioned by mistaking Darenfis Episcopus, which signifies Bishop of Kildare (to whom Precedence is due) for Derensfis Episcopus, Bishop of Derry, who like all other Bishops (except Meath and Kildare) takes place only according to Consecration. The 8th. Canon of the Council of Hertford, Sept. 4. 673, enjoins, that no Bishop should strive for Precedence ambitiously, but observe the Order and Time of their Consecration in taking place one of another. The Similitude of Derensfis to Darenfis occasioned Bale to call William Quaplod Bishop of Kildare, who was Bishop of Derry, the 14th from St. Eugene. And our present Bishop, the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. Peter Rundle, is the 38th from St. Eugene.

severely condemned in the Independents and other Sectaries. Whoever peruses the Presbyterian Writings, and particularly the *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, the exactest Book that hath been written by them, will find the Practice of gathering Churches out of Churches, and setting up separate Meetings against an established Church, bitterly inveighed against, as the Mother of Confusion, the Nurse of Schism, and Step-Mother of Edification.

I must own, I am surprized to find the Dissenters making it an Article of Separation from our Church, that they are deprived of the Priviledge of chusing their Minister. I willingly would know what would content these People. There are several of the first, and most apparently divine Rights of the Church, in the Exercise of which, great Regard is had to the Authority of private Judgment Thus, in the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the People (c) are called upon to object against the Persons proposed,

(c) In sacrorum ordinum collatione *κατάστασις* ad Episcopos, *συμβουδομησις* ad Plebem spectabat.

Whosoever considers our Manner and Form of ordering Deacons and Priests, must allow that it is so compiled as to silence all Adversaries whatsoever. Do the *Erastians* contend for the Power of the Prince in Ordinations? According to this Form, none can execute the Office of a Priest, of whose Allegiance the King is not ascertained. For thus runs the Rubrick, *And before the Gospel the Bishop sitting in his Chair shall cause the Oath of the King's Supremacy, and against the Power of all Foreign Potentates, to be administered to every of them that are to be ordered.* Mr. Pen in his *Primitive Christianity*, Sect. 2, 3, says, that *they who undertake the Ministry ought to be guided and influenced by the Holy Spirit.* Herein the *Quakers* differ not from the Church of England, who assert the same. For it is demanded of Persons to be ordained, *whether they are persuaded that they are moved thereto by the Holy Ghost?* If Men will bely their own Consciences, and thrust themselves unworthily into the Ministry, that is not to be objected against the Constitution. Do the *Presbyterians* contend for Ordination by Presbyters? In this Form 'tis provided that the Bishop with the Priests

posed, and to join their private Testimony to the Decree of the Church in conferring those Dignities. So again, in the Ceremony of Marriage, the People are at Liberty to declare every Thing which they judge or know to be an Impediment in the Parties. And at the holy Communion of the Lord's-Supper, if they are scandalized at the Presence of any notorious Offender, who has not yet satisfied the Justice of the Church, they may publickly demand to have him repelled, if his Crime be such as he persists in, and such as the Church has adjudged to deserve that Punishment. Nay, even in performing the last remains of primitive Excommunication, every private Member is concerned, and the Church is answerable, if the People be not satisfied in that Sentence,

Priests present shall lay their Hands severally upon the Head of every one that receiveth the Order of Priesthood. Do others contend for Democracy in the Church? In this Form the People are appealed to: *Then the Bishop shall say unto the People, Good People, &c.* So that our Reformers, in drawing up this Form, took care to remove the Scruples of all contending Parties. And therefore there lies no Objection against the Church of England, where Ordinations are enjoined to be celebrated in a publick Manner, and the Congregation invited to make what Objections they can, pursuant to the Practice of the primitive Church. For thus runs the 6th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon: *Μηδὲν ἀπολειμμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε Πρεσβύτερον μήτε Διάκονον μήτε ἄλλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ Τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κῆρης ἢ μαρτυρίου ἢ μοναστηρίου ὁ χειροτονούμενος ἀποκηρύττῃτο.* *That none be ordained absolutely (or without a Title to any particular Church) either Priest or Deacon, or to any one whatsoever of the Ecclesiastical Orders, but that his intended Ordination be first publickly notified in the Church of the City or Village. or in the Chapel or Monastery.* To wit, that all such Persons may be recommended by the Testimony of the People, and either their Crimes be detected or their Merits proclaimed. The Laity had always this Power, and the same Power is allowed them by the Church of England and Ireland. For one Reason assigned why the Ordination of Ministers is fixed to the *Ember-Weeks* is, that the People knowing the Times, may, if they please, be present, either to approve the Choice made by the Bishop, or to object against those whom they know to be unworthy.

tence, so far as they are Evidences either for, or against it. So great a Regard has the Church for private Judgment, in all these Cases, that we see it will not exercise any of it's most important and uncontested Rights without the Concurrence, Assistance, and Approbation of every private Member.

Upon the whole, it appears (and is lately well observed) that we of the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*, need not enter into any Controversy, either with the Civil Magistrate or with the People, for whatever Prerogative, or Privilege, can be pretended on either Side, it is by our very Constitution (which is become one, both Ecclesiastical and Civil) delivered into our Hands. So that by this, it plainly appears, that the Orders of our Church are still *de Jure*, whether divine or human; that directly or indirectly, we must needs be the Ordinance of God. If the Power of Ordination be by divine Right in the Clergy, then are the Orders we have received directly divine: If it was God's Will, that the Magistrate or People, shou'd have a share in that Power (or all of it), we are again in Possession, in lawful Possession of that too: Again, as to the Forms, if Episcopacy and Presbytery (just as we understand the Words) be *Jure Divino*, we have then all that even High-Church can demand: If only the Office in general (as Ministers, Teachers, &c.) be *Jure Divino*, but the particular Titles, Distinctions and Methods of exercising that Office, be left to every regular Society to determine, yet even so, (our Societies in *England* and *Ireland*, having legally and regularly determined for us) we are in general still of God's Appointment. See Mr. Squire's Answer to the *Independent Whig*, p. 173.

Will not this satisfy Protestant Dissenters? No: It will not silence their Clamour against the Right of Patronage, which they endeavour to disprove from Scripture,

Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity. Which shall be all examined in their Order.

I. The Election of *Matthias* is the chief Argument the Dissenters have for the Right of the People to chuse their own Pastors. For as it is, *Acts* 1. 15. There were 120 Lay-men who elected him.

Ans. How do the Dissenters know they were Lay-men? The Apostles were of the Number and were not yet separated. For it was before the Descent of the holy Ghost at *Pentecost*, and there were 70 ordained in a lower Class of Clergy from the Apostles by our Saviour himself. And we cannot tell but more might have been ordained afterwards by himself or the Apostles after his Resurrection. So that the whole 120 might have been Clergy for ought we know. (d) *Grotius*, who was neither a Clergyman himself nor an extender of their Rights, will not allow that a popular Election is duly inferred from this Text. *Matthiam a Populo ad Apostoli Munus Electum miror quo Argumento sibi quidam persuaserint, nam in Lucâ nullum ejus rei invenio Vestigium.* *Grot. de Imper. Sum. Potest circa Sacra c. 10. Sect. 5.*

But suppose they had been all Laymen except the Apostles, how does it appear that any but the Apostles did chuse? It is said v. 23. *And they appointed two.* Who were these they? It might have been the Apostles or all the rest. Here is nothing of Uncertainty in

(d) In Palatinatu non inspectores tantum ex voluntate Principis creantur, sed curæ etiam pastorales conferuntur teste H. Grotio, arbitrio Senatûs qui mandato & nomine Electoris Ecclesijs præfidet. Et in Ditione Basileensi, teste eodem, Ecclesiarum extra urbem in Pastore eligendo potestas nulla est. Quem Magistratus urbis ad pascendum illas mittit, etiamsi docentem nunquam audiverint reverenter accipiunt. *Grot. de Jure sum. potest. circa sacra, C. 1. p. 322.*

in all this. And at last the Thing was determined by Lot, (e) which was then a miraculous Decision.

B

Here

(e) The Method of electing by lots was not altogether so singular as is commonly imagined. For in *Spain* it was once the common Practice, as may be concluded from a Canon of the Council of *Barcelona*, Anno 599, which orders, that when a vacant Bishoprick is to be filled, two or three shall be elected by the Consent of the Clergy and People, who shall present them to the Metropolitan and his Fellow Bishops, and they having first fasted, shall cast Lots, leaving the Determination to Christ the Lord: Then he on whom the Lot shall fall, shall be consecrated by the Blessing of Consecration. *Council. Barcinon. C. 3. Tom. 5. p. 1606.* But the most remarkable Instance of chusing by Lot is mentioned by *Comenius*, which I shall first relate in his own Words, and afterwards in *English*. *Comenius in brevi illâ Ecclesiæ Slavonicæ historiâ quam postremæ editioni rationis disciplinæ fratrum Bohemorum addidit, quodque unum satis est ad demonstrandum Ecclesiam Anglicanam non solum esse inter reformatas, quæ teneat Episcopos, si modo haberi possint, necessarios esse in Ecclesia Christi, subsequens exemplum a nostratibus Dissidentibus potissimum observandum præbet. Maxima illis (fratribus Bohemis) inquit, anxietudo fuit de Pastoribus animarum, unde hos essent habituri, postquam quos in præsens habebant, decessissent. Expectare, dum Romanæ Ordinationis aliqui veritatis amore ad se transirent res erat incertæ spei. Et meminerant Rokyzanum toties potestatum, a fundamentis redintegranda esse omnia. Domi ergo erigendam esse Ordinationem potestate eam quam Christus Ecclesiæ dedisset: ut quamdiu Ordinatos adhuc inter se haberent, illi ipsi ordinent alios, & hi rursus alios, sibi successuros. Inclinant sane istuc ut desideria, sic & sententiæ: sed quassabat animos metus, an satis legitima foret Ordinatio, si Presbyter Presbyterum crearet & non Episcopus? Et quomodo talem Ordinationem, si lis moveatur, defensori essent, siue apud alios, siue apud suos? Tandem post anxias annorum aliquot deliberationes, conveniunt (Anno 1467) a totâ Bohemiâ & Moraviâ primarij quique viri, circiter 70 multisque, ad Deum iustis lachrymis & precibus (ut num propositum placeret, & num jam tempus esset, ostendere dignaretur) voluntatem Dei sorte experiri constituunt. Eligunt itaque è medio sui, pei suffragia viros novem, quos ministerio suscipiendo præ cæteris judicabant idoneos: datisque in manum pueri (in cætum accersiti, & quid fiat ignorantis) schedulis oclulsis duodecim, distribui inter novem istos jussunt. Erant autem illarum novem vacuæ: tribus duntaxat inscriptum fuit, *est*: scilicet voluntas Dei, quam sibi revelari petebant. Fieri ergo potuit, ut omnes nacti fuissent schedulas*

Here is not a Word of any Vote that passed, as there is not of the People's Election, since 'tis God that is expressly said to have chosen him that the Lot fell upon, and who was accordingly numbered with the 11 Apostles. By this Account of St. *Mathias's* Election,

las vacuas : quod indicium negativæ Dei voluntatis futurum erat. Sed factum est, ut scriptæ illæ tres venerint in manus trium inter eos, *Matthiæ Konwaldij* viri piissimi, *Thomæ Prelaucij* viri docti, & *Eliæ Renovij* singulari quadam solertiâ conspicui. Hos illi cum gaudio tanquam diivinitus sibi datos amplexati, de confirmatione illorum seu Ordinatione novâ, consilia ceperunt. Cumque in confinibus *Moraviæ* & *Austriæ* *Waldensium* quosdam esse scirent, ut omnino scrupulis conscientiæ suæ & alienæ (in præfens & in futurum) consulere, ad illos *Michaelem Zambergium* cum aliis duobus miserunt: qui quid actum est explicarunt, iudiciumque de eo peterent. Inveniunt illi Episcopum eorum *Stephanum*: qui accito Episcopo altero & aliquot è ministris, originem suam doctrinæque articulos, & quid hætenus horrendi per *Italiam* & *Galliam* passi essent, explicant: rursusque nostrorum de secessione a Papa & † *Calixtinis*, relationem audiunt, approbant, congratulantur; quin imo tribus illis ministris creandi potestate collatâ manuum impositione Episcopos creant, & ad suos remittunt. An fratrum *Bohemorum* * *Ecclesiæ* pro *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* politica sententiam dicturæ sint, an pro *Presbyterianis* schismaticis, iudicet æquus Lector.

To shew those who know not the Story how the Principle of Episcopacy was transmitted to later Ages, and kept its ground to the 15th Century, I beg leave to relate the Opinion and Proceedings of the Presbyters of those *Bohemians* and *Moravians*, who in Persecution retiring to a mountainous Country near *Silesia*,

† *Calistins*, or *Calixtrins*, a Name given to the People at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, who opposed the *Thaborites* in the 15th Century. They follow the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* in all Things but in depriving the Laity of the Chalice or Cup at the Sacrament. There are some of this Sect in *Poland*.

* Apud Fratres *Bohemos* nullus Magistratus, nec Ecclesiæ Pastores sibi quærebat aut vocabat, sed quo quis destinabatur ab Episcopis, eo se conferebat, Ecclesiæque illa eum Pastorem suum agnoscebat. Quia Episcoporum eam curam esse sentiebant, quali Rectore Ecclesiæ quæque indigeat, providere. *Ratio Discipl. Fratrum C. 2.* Similiter in *Ditione Tigurina* Parochi non eliguntur ab Ecclesiis, sed ab Antistite & Canonicis Ecclesiæ Collegiata.

lection, it appears, that the Congregation did only nominate two, and then prayed to God to chuse one out of those two whom they had so nominated. *St. Chrysostom* says, they used this Method because as yet the holy Ghost was not as yet descended on them, and they had not at this Time the power of chu-

B 2

sing

lesia, grew very solicitous how the People should have the Ministry continued to them after they were dead. In this Deliberation they had some Thoughts which Necessity suggested to them, of ordaining other Presbyters to succeed them. But fearing that such Ordinations would not be legitimate nor defensible, if called in Question; at length in the Year 1467, the most Eminent among them that were dispersed through *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, met together to the Number of 70, who addressing themselves to God with Prayers and Tears, beseeched him to shew them if their Purpose were agreeable to his holy Will, and if that were the Time for it, and then proceeded in the following manner to know the Will of God by Lot: They chose by Suffrages 9 Men from among themselves, whom they thought most worthy to be Bishops, and having put into the Hands of a Child twelve little Papers folded up, they directed him to distribute them among the nine Persons. Nine of the Papers were blank, and on the other three were written, *Est, It is*, to wit, the Will of God which they had begged him to discover to them. It might have so happened, that every one of the nine Persons might have got a blank Paper, which would have been a Sign to them of the negative Will of God. But it came to pass that the three written Papers fell into the Hands of three among them who were noted for their Piety, Learning, and Prudence.

These they embraced with Joy, as given unto them from Heaven, and then deliberated about their Consecration. And to that end sent three of their Ministers to a Part of the *Waldenses*, who being banished out of *France* came to reside in the Confines of *Austria* and *Moravia*. To these they related their sad State, and having asked their Counsel, *Stephanus*, one of their Bishops, calling to him another Bishop and some Ministers, made known to them the Purity of their Doctrine, the grievous Persecutions they had suffered in *France* and *Italy*, and the lawful uninterrupted Succession of their Bishops from the first Plantation of Christianity among them to that Time. To them therefore the *Bohemian* Ministers, elected by Lot, were sent to be consecrated Bishops; after which they resolved to unite with the *Waldenses*, who were suddenly scattered by a new Persecution, in which *Stephen* their Bishop suffered Martyrdom, being inhumanly burnt at *Vienna*.

sing by Inspiration, and therefore they committed the Business to Prayer, and left the Determination to God. *Chris. Hom. 5. in 1 Tim.*

A Second Argument drawn by Protestant Dissenters from Scripture is this. It is a great Discouragement to be of your Communion, that your Ministers enter not their Charge by the Election and Call of the People, being their Privilege by Scripture Pattern to chuse Church Officers, *Acts 6.*

To this I answer, that in the Opinion of *Beza* (f) the two Instances of *Matthias* and the Deacons are nothing to the Purpose, and the *French Churches* have sufficiently proved that against (g) *Morell* and his Party in their publick Synods. But if *Beza's* Authority should be of no Weight, I hope that of the *English Presbyterians* will; for in the Eighth Chapter of their *Jus Divinum Ministerij Evangelici*, or, the *Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*; written, at least authorized by the provincial Assembly of *London*, published, *Anno 1654.* They express themselves thus: *The People had not the whole and the sole Choice of the Deacons, but were herein guided, directed, and limited by the holy Apostles, they were limited to the Number of seven, and*
to

(f) Quod enim ex historia electionis *Matthiae* & *Diaconorum* profertur, nihil ad rem facit sicut adversus *Morellium* & alios deminceps sectatores in Synodis Gallicis est abunde probatum. *Beza Traët. Theol. Genev. 1582. Vol. 3. Ep. 83.*

(g) *Morellius* homo Fanaticus Independentium parens, qui excluso tum Clero tum Magistratu promiscuæ plebi jus electionis in solidum tribuebat, non tantum *Genevæ* a *Calvino*, *Beza* & toto *Pastorum* cætu excommunicatus est, & a Magistratu propter contumaciam urbe pulsus, sed in *Gallia* etiam a *Reformatorum Synodis* damnatus est. Sententia in eum lata typis edita est *Genevæ 1563. Ep. L. 1. Ep. 4.* In ipsa *Genevensi Reipublicæ* ditione *Ecclesiæ Pastores* suos non eligunt, sed ipsis dantur a Magistratu, adhibitis aliorum Ministrorum consiliis. Examinati a Ministrorum Collegio, Senatui offeruntur, in cujus arbitrio est non admittere. Tantum audiuntur *Ecclesiæ*, si quod habeant adversus eos qui ipsis Pastores dantur. Quod ubique *Ecclesiarum Reformatarum* fieri solet. *Calv. Ep. Olaviano p. 311.*

to the Company out of which those seven were to be chosen, and to certain *Qualifications* which must be in those seven. Look ye out among you seven Men of honest Report, full of the holy Ghost and Wildom, whom we (b) may appoint

(b) Upon this Occasion I cannot but take notice of a vile Corruption, which has crept into very many Editions of the *English Bible*, especially since the Year 1638, when it first appeared (at least that I can learn) in a Bible printed by *Buck and Daniel* at *Cambridge*. *St. Luke* tells us, *Acts* 6. 1. that when the Number of the Disciples was multiplied, and there was a murmuring of the *Grecians* against the *Hebrews*, ————— the Apostles said, Look ye out seven Men whom we may appoint over this Business, ὅς τε καταστήσωμεν. Now in many modern Editions, and even in some of *Field's* beautiful *Cambridge* ones, instead of *WE*, it is, whom *TE* may appoint over this Business. This is a direct Corruption of the Text, and it is well known to what purpose it may be applied. We see what the People's Power was in appointing Ecclesiastical Officers. They proposed, the Apostles approved and ordained, and that, as the Text plainly shews, without calling in any other Authority to make their Acts valid besides their own.

The late Bishop *Wetenhall* in a Treatise, entituled, *Scripture authentick and Faith certain*, &c. p. 19, 20, observes, *Our English Bibles, in sundry Impressions of this Age, are corrupted in Acts* 6. 3. Chuse ye seven Men whom ye may appoint: Ye falsely for *We*: [ὅς τε καταστήσωμεν.] The Corruption may be found in the latter *Edinburgh*, *Cambridge*, and since very ordinarily in divers (indeed most) *London* Editions. Now this being done, not till the Faction had crumbled itself into several minute Parties, all pretending Scripture for their several distinctive little Opinions, 'tis not impossible it might be done at first with Design, and particularly of those who would establish the People's Power, not only in electing, but even in ordaining their own Ministers. Mean while let it be done by whom it might, take an *Edinburgh* Edition of 1636, a *Cambridge* one of 16, a *London* one of 1642, being it was not possible for the Faction to get all these Copies, and a Multitude more in, as being so vastly numerous, the true old Copies examined and compared discover the Variation from them, that is, the Corruption; and a more authentick one than any of them, that is, the original Greek, if any Doubt remain, decides the whole Controversy.

Observa non esse Populi Christiani Ministros ordinare, aut constituere. Nam in prima confirmatione Ecclesiæ Christus Apostolos rebus præfecit, Apostoli alios rebus præfecerunt, & sic deinceps. Unde ergo Christiano homini in mentem veniat Christi
Mini-

appoint over this Business. *And we are confident that if the Brethren had failed in any of these Particulars, the Apostles would have refused to have laid their Hands upon them.* And therefore this Text comes not up to the Proof of the Objection. But suppose that the People had the whole and sole Choice of the Deacons, yet it will not follow that therefore they should have the whole and sole Choice of their Ministers. For it is a certain Rule, *Argumentum a minori ad Majus non valet affirmativè.* It is no good Way of Argument to say, because a Man is able to do the lesser, therefore he is able to do the greater. Now the Office of a Deacon is inferior to the Office of a Presbyter. And besides, it will no way follow, that because the People are able without Advice and Direction from others to chuse Men to gather and distribute Money for the Poor, yet therefore they are able wholly and solely to chuse Men that shall divide the Word of God amongst them, as
skilful

Ministros pendere prorsus ab electione Populi, nec aliunde auctoritatem habere. Num hoc in Scriptura sacra legit? Num in praxi Ecclesiæ videt? Quod Christus, quod Apostoli, quod omnes Ecclesiæ fecere, nos facimus. Isti Fanatici quos habent Authores? Dices, *Diaconos septem primos elegit Populus.* Elegit quidem, sed jussu Apostolorum. Et quid eorum erat electio, nisi exhibitio testimonij quod septem illi essent idonei tali officio. Quo tamen officio non investiebantur, nisi per impositionem manuum Apostolicarum. *Episcopi Boylai Clogherensis Sum. Theol. Christiana, p. 56, 57.*

Scio hic ab electionum popularium assertoribus objici solere quæ habentur, *Act. 6.* de septem virorum curandis mensis electione, quam isti Apostoli Discipulorum multitudini detulerunt. Sed nos de Ecclesiæ Moderatoribus de verbi & sacramentorum, non de mensarum Ministris, hoc est, viduarum & pauperum Curatoribus, & eleemosynarum Dispensatoribus agimus. Illos semper ipsi Apostoli elegerunt & Ecclesijs præfecerunt, istos vero eligi voluerunt ab ipsis fidelibus; idque prudentissime, tum ut a se omnem avaritiæ suspicionem procul amoverent; quam ut si nova dissidia super eleemosynarum distributione in posterum excitarentur, ea non alijs quam sibi ipsis imputarent, quæ tales rerum suarum œconomos elegerant. *Vide Durelli Vind. C. 31, p. 406.*

skillful Workmen that need not be ashamed. And thus, I have upon unexceptionable Authority shewn that this Text *Acts 6.* does not authorize the People to chuse their Minister. I must own, I was very much surprized to find this Text made use of at all by them who have abolished the Order of Deacons as well as of Bishops. For tho' they, at least in some Churches, have those whom they call by that Name, yet they are only temporary Officers with them, not created by Imposition of Hands, nor have they any spiritual Ministration assigned them.

This Claim of the Dissenters to chuse their Minister has been long insisted on by them: But Bishop *Sander-son* (i) (in his Seventh Prelection, which defines the Obligation of human Laws with respect to their efficient Cause) has with his usual Clearness proved it to be groundless. Many of the Presbyterians among us (as their Way is) complain loudly and unjustly, that the Election of Parochial Pastors is wrongfully taken away from the People, and those who ought to be chosen to that Office by the Parishioners, are presented by a private Person, or by a College under the Name

(i) Quemadmodum apud nos, importune (ut solent) & inique e Presbyterianorum grege nonnulli conqueruntur, Pastorum parochialium electionem populo injuste ereptam; cum quos oporteret a Parochianis ad id munus vocari, a privata aliquâ singulari Personâ, aut Collegio, sub Patroni nomine sine ipsorum consensu præsentetur. Illud interim parum cogitantes, eligendi jus si quod Populus olim habuerit, (quæ tamen incerta res est, & quam si negetur nunquam probare poterunt) ex justâ certe aliquâ causâ ab initio, sed longi temporis præscriptione jam ignoratâ, ad beneficiorum Patronos quos vocant jamdudum transisse, adeoque in factâ a Patronis electione involvi virtualiter & contineri Populi consensum. Quod si homines dogmatum suorum nimium pertinaces non permoveat; ast illud saltem submonendi sunt, quod vel importunissimo adversario faciat satis, jura Patronatus & Ecclesiarum advocaciones *Authoritate Parliamentaria*, hoc est, communi & pleno totius Populi consensu dudum sancita esse, & proinde quod a legitimo Patrono hoc in casu fit, Populum ut id ei facere liceret, consensisse. *De legum humanarum causâ efficiente Prælect. 7ma. p. 204, 205.*

Name of a Patron without their Consent; not considering that the Right of Election, if the People ever had any, (which is very uncertain, and, if denied, can never be proved) has long since past over, for some just Cause, no doubt at first, but forgot now by long Prescription of Time, and is lodged in those they call the Patrons of Benefices; and therefore in an Election made by the Patrons, the Consent of the People is virtually implied. But if this Answer will be of no Force with these obstinate Opinionists, yet they ought to be put in mind of this, which would be Satisfaction sufficient to the most clamorous Adversary; that the Rights of Patronage, and the Advowsons of Churches were long ago confirmed by Authority of Parliament. That is by the common and full Consent of the whole People: And therefore, what a lawful Patron does in this Case, has been allowed by the Consent and Approbation of the People. And thus did the judicious *Hooker* (*k*) argue: There is not in the Church of *England*, any Man by order of Law, possessed with Pastoral Charge over any Parish, but the People in Effect do chuse him thereunto. For albeit, they chuse not by giving every Man personally his particular Voice, yet can they not say that they have their Pastors violently obtruded upon them, inasmuch, as their ancient and original Interest therein hath been by orderly Means derived into the Patron (*l*) who chuteth for them, and if any Man be desirous

(*k*) Eccl. Polity, Book 7. p. 361. Dub. Ed.

(*l*) The Patron's Right only consists in a Power to nominate who shall enjoy Church Preferments, which very Nomination must be made within six Months, and fix'd upon a Person canonically qualified; otherwise 'tis wholly invalid. His Interest in Church Livings only enables him to give them away, not to keep them. He hath no Power to enter upon any Part of the Glebes or Tythes, or so much as to sequester the Profits for the next Incumbent. He is only a Trustee authorized under certain Conditions, to dispose of the Patrimony of the Church; which is settled upon it by as good Laws as any he holds his Estate by. That

desirous to know how Patrons came to have such an Interest, we are to consider that at the first Erection of Churches, it seemed but reasonable in the Eyes of the whole Christian World to pass that Right to them and their Successors, on whose Soil and at whose Charge the same were founded. This all Men gladly and willingly did, both in honour of so great Piety and for Encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure, else would have been as slow to erect Churches or endow them, as we are forward both to spoil them and pull them down. And it hath been since argued by the Rev. Doctor *Puller* in his Treatise of Moderation, c. 3. p. 36, 37. That the People among us do bear as great Part as they ought, in what is constituted in our Church, whether they will own it or no: For where the Consent of the People is not actually required, it is either included in the Laws of the Land (by which they

That Right which he hath, was originally granted in consideration of Works of extraordinary Piety, in building or endowing of Churches: Which is a Title very few (except the King) can pretend to, either upon their own or Ancestors Accounts.

The Trust indeed is honourable and weighty; it being in the Power of those to whom it is committed, to encourage Learning, and to provide the People with prudent and conscientious Guides. But then I must add, that it ought to be discharged accordingly; and that those who do not chiefly aim at these Ends in the Exercise of it, have little either of Conscience or Honour in them.

And here in Point of Charity, I think my self obliged to direct those, who are concerned in the Rights of Patronage, to consider before 'tis too late, how great a Sin it is to abuse their Power; and through Covetousness, or some other unwarrantable Principle, to betray the Church, which hath in some measure made them her Guardian. This makes the Church contemptible by the Strength of her own Revenues, and causes the Monuments of our Forefathers Piety to be instrumental in undermining and exposing that Faith they thereby intended to secure and advance: Which whosoever is guilty of, he may be assured he hath a Right to the Imprecations as well as the Patronages of the first Endowers of Churches; which dreadful Legacy they were generally very careful to settle upon such irreligious Posterity. *Spiritus de non temerandis Ecclesijs.*

they are governed) or in the Will of the King, (m) to whom, besides his own proper Power over the Church in his own Kingdom, which is very great; in many Cases they have made over their Right, whatever it is themselves, and frequently by their Ecclesiastical Governors, they also consent to what is constituted in the Church: For we must remember what our nineteenth Article expresseth, That *the Church is a Congregation of faithful People* (as it here follows) *according to Christ's Ordinance*: We must also remember that the Church in

(m) Quid aut inquam peccent pij Principes ac Magistratus dum jure suo in eligendis Episcopis & alijs Ecclesiæ Ministris utuntur, modo ne abutantur, haud video, nisi probetur plebi jus illud a Deo concessum, & ne eo cedat imperatum. Nam verissime quidem a celeberrimo Grotio *de Jure Sum. Potest. circa Sacra*, C. 8. p. 322. dictum est contra eos qui Pastorum electionem plebi, etiam in Republicâ Christiana asserunt, liberum esse summæ potestati quicquid lege divina non circumscribitur; & regno posito simul jus Regi concedi ea omnia procurandi, quæ ipsi lege divina interdicta non sunt, præsertim quæ eo pertinent, ut subditi vitam tranquillam & piam degant. Liberam autem Pastorum suorum electionem plebi a Deo aut concessam aut imperatam nusquam legimus. At jus constituendi ipsum summum Sacerdotem ab ipso Davide Regum pientissimo, usurpatum videmus. Exauthorato enim Abiathare in illius locum Sadocum suffecit, 1 Reg. 2. 35. Misit & Josaphatus, Davidi inter Judæorum Reges pietate proximus, Sacerdotes & Levitas, quos nominatim elegerat ad docendum in quasdam civitates Judæ, 2 Paralip. 17. 8, 9. Quod perinde erat ac si eos alicui Diæcesi aut Parochiæ præfecisset. Ex Novi Testamenti libris seu historicis seu dogmaticis nihil afferri, ex quo Pastorum electiones a Plebe unquam factas probetur supra ostendimus, & abunde a Bilsone, Grotio, & alijs demonstratum est. Si Plebi jus illud comperat, tum universæ adeoque singulis, qua fidelibus & Ecclesiæ Membris competit, nullâ sexûs, nullaque status ratione habita & absque omni personarum acceptione. Apud Deum enim neque mas neque fœmina, neque dives neque pauper, neque liber neque servus. Et isti omnes ex æquo membra sunt Ecclesiarum. At nemo unquam repertus est, ne quidem apud Independentes, quod sciam qui fœminis, ancillis etiam, jus suffragij in eligendis Pastoribus tribuerit. *Vide Vindicias Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus iniquas atque inverecundas Schismaticorum criminationes*, C. 31. p. 413, 414. *Authore Johanne Durello, sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero Regia Majestati a sacris.*

it's Beginning, did not form itself, neither did it ordain or appoint it's own Rulers; for *Christ gave some Apostles, Pastors, Teachers*, Eph. 4. 11. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Yea they had their Power given them somewhat before the Church was formed, *Mat. 28. 18, 19.* To shew that they were not to depend upon the People for their Power.

Whatever voluntary Condescensions were made by the Heads of Ecclesiastical Communion in the tender Beginnings of the Church to oblige them more firmly in their Christian Fellowships: Yet all Rights of Administration of the spiritual Power of the Church, did always properly belong to the Rulers of the Church within their own Limits: So *Ignatius, Cyprian, Hierom*, and others of the Fathers, fitly call the Church a Company united to their Pastor: For the Administration of the Power of the Church cannot belong to the Body of this Society considered complexly, but to those Officers in it, whose Care and Charge it is, to have a peculiar Oversight and Inspection over the Church, and to redress the Disorders in it. Wherefore the Church is not improperly express'd by the Clergy, which may be justly counted the Church Representative, that as *St. Cyprian* saith, *Every Act of the Church may be governed by it's Rulers.* For when we speak of the Church making Laws, we must mean the governing Part of the Church.

The Dissenters themselves formerly acquiesced in the Right of Patronage, tho' they now so loudly exclaim against it. The Truth of this will fully appear from the Certificate in the Margin, (n) and the Writings

C 2

of

(n) ' Know all Men by these Presents, that on the 28th Day
 ' of *March*, 1658, there was exhibited to the Commissioners
 ' for Approbation of publick Preachers, a Presentation of Mr.
 ' *Samuel Shaw* to the Rectory of *Long Watton* in the County of
 ' *Leicester*, made to him by his Highness *Oliver* Lord Protector
 ' of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c. the Patron thereof,
 ' under

of their own Divines. Do but read the 8th. c. of their *Jus Divinum Ministerij Evangelici*, and there you will find, that the Election of a Minister doth not by divine Right belong wholly and solely to the major Part of every particular Congregation. And this they prove from the Mischiefs that will inevitably follow from such a Choice. For it is certain that every one that is to be made a Minister is first of all to be tried and proved, whether he be fit for so great an Office, 1 Tim. 3. 10. *Let these also be proved, &c. These also*, that is, the

under his Seal Manual, together with a Testimony in the behalf of the said *Samuel Shaw*, of his holy and godly Conversation. Upon Perusal and due Consideration of the Premises, and finding him to be a Person qualified as in and by the Ordinance for such Approbation is required, the Commissioners above-mentioned have adjudged and approved the said *Samuel Shaw* to be a fit Person to preach the Gospel, and have granted him Admission, and do admit the said *Samuel * Shaw* to the Rectory of *Long-Whiston* aforesaid, to be full and perfect Possessor and Incumbent thereof. And do hereby signify to all Persons concerned therein, that he is hereby entitled to the Profits and Perquisites, and all Rights and Dues incident and belonging to the said Rectory, as fully and effectually as if he had

* *N. R. Samuel Shaw*, M. A. Rector of *Long-Watton* in the Protector's Usurpation, was confirmed in it by a Grant from King *Charles II.* yet lost it by the *Bartholomew Act*; yet being a learned, peaceable and meek Man, and being chosen School-Master of *Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Thomas Barlow*, licensed him to teach School upon such a Subscription as his own Sense dictated and inserted; and the Bishop added, that he was glad to have so worthy a Man in his Diocese upon any Terms. At his Entrance upon this School, he found the Revenue but small, the Buildings quite out of Repair, and the Scholars very few; but by his Interest he restored the School-house and increased the Revenue, and by his Diligence raised the Reputation of the School so much, that he had often 160 Boys, and kept two Ushers a great while. Several Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, &c. in *England* owe their first Instructions in Grammatical Learning to him. He wrote a Book of Meditations much commended by Bishop *Barlow*. He died Jan. 22, 1695.

the Deacons as well as the Bishops. The Bishop therefore is to be tried and examined whether he be apt to Teach, whether he be able to convince Gain-sayers, whether he be a Workman that needs not be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth: Now, there are many Congregations wherein the major Part are very unfit to judge of ministerial Abilities, and if the whole and sole Power were in them, they would set up Idol Shepherds instead of able Shepherds. 2. There are some

‘ had been instituted and inducted according to any such Laws
 ‘ and Customs as have in this Case formerly been made or used
 ‘ in this Realm. In Witness whereof they have caused the
 ‘ common Seal to be hereunto affixed, and the same to be attest-
 ‘ ed by the Hand of the Register by his Highness in that behalf
 ‘ appointed.

Dated at Whitehall 28th of May, 1658.

(L. S.)

John Nye, Register.

This may suffice for the *English* Presbyterians: But whosoever will be at the pains to peruse the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, p. 385 to p. 394, will find that the primitive Church of *Scotland* maintained the Right of Patronage as much as the Church of *England* or *Ireland*. And Mr. Bingham says the same of the Reformed Church of *France*, in his *French Church's Apology*, p. 257.

The groundless Fancy of the divine Right of popular Elections is more properly an Independent than Presbyterian Principle; the *English* Presbyterians of the provincial Assembly of *London* wrote zealously against it in their *Jus Divinum Ministerij Evangelici*. It is truly inconsistent with the old Presbyterian Scheme, it obtained not generally among our *Scotch* Presbyterians till some Years after 1638. It was not adopted into their Scheme till the General Assembly 1649. Patronages were never taken away by Act of Parliament till of late, that is, in the Year 1690; [restored by the Parliament of *Great Britain* in the 10th Year of her late Majesty Queen *Anne*.] 'Tis true G. R. in his *True Representation of Presbyterian Government*, says, they were taken away by Law; meaning, no doubt, by the Act of the pretended Parliament, Anno 1649. But he had just as much Reason for calling that Rout a Parliament, or its Acts Laws, as he had for making the suppressing of popular Elections of Ministers a just Cause for separating from the Communion of the Church. *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, p. 392, 393.

some Congregations wherein the major Part are wicked, and if left to themselves wholly, would chuse none but such as are like themselves. 3. There are some wherein possibly the major Part may be heretical, and will never consent to the Election of an Orthodox and sound Minister. 4. Sometimes there have been great Dissentions and Tumults in popular Elections even to the Effusion of Blood, as we read in Ecclesiastical Story. Sometimes Congregations are destitute of Ministers for many Years, by reason of the Divisions and Disagreements thereof, as we see by woful Experience in our Days. Now, in all these and such like Cases, if the whole and sole Power of Election were in the major Part of every Congregation, how sad and lamentable would the Condition be of many hundred Congregations of this Nation. And therefore it is that in all well governed Churches great Care is had for the avoiding of these Church undoing Inconveniencies.

It is certain that the Triers (o) were in effect the Patrons of all the Benefices in *England*, as *Jahn Goodwyn* shews

(o) *P. Nye* and *H. Peters*, the Archbishops of those Times who governed the Committee of Triers, had no Law, no Canons, but their own Pleasures, they rejected whom they pleased without giving themselves the Trouble or the Sufferers the Satisfaction of the least Reason; and there was no Relief, no *Quare impedit* against the Church Governors; and their Proceedings were so arbitrary, that some stiled that Committee the *English Inquisition*; and this is the Fruit of Congregational Episcopacy among us. Confusion, Regicide, and Slavery in the Commonwealth, and endless Sects and more than papal Tyranny in the Church. Dr. *Heylin* in his *History of the Presbyterians*, Book 13. p. 455.—9. has printed a general Bill of Mortality of the Clergy of *London*, which have been defunct by Reason of the contagious Breath of the Sectaries of that City, from the Year 1641 to 1647, with the several Casualties of the same: Or a brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Ministers of the City of *London*, who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all Livelihood for themselves and their Families; for their Constancy to the Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their Sovereign.

shews in his *Trier tried*. *Needham* had no Way of answering *Goodwyn* but by telling him that if the People were permitted to chuse their Pastor, the godly and well affected ones would have the least Stroke in the Choice. See the great Accuser cast down, p. 40. Where the People have the Election of the Ministers they chuse as ill as the Patrons, witness *Venice*, the Accounts of whose Elections and their Scandalousness, we have in the late Bishop *Burnet's* third Letter, p. 143, 144.

Whatever Opinion some may have of popular Elections, yet, (as Mr. *Johnson* in his *Vade Mecum for Clergymen*, or the *Canonical Codes of the primitive Church* very well observes) All wise and good Men have reason to wish, that our Church may never be the Scene of so much Violence and Sedition as this would certainly occasion. Our Dissenters do exercise this Privilege, and I do not think that the People of the Church of *England* have any Reason to envy them in this Particular. 'Twere much to be wished that some Body would give us an History of their Conduct and Methods of Proceeding in this Affair, and shew us from variety of Matters of Fact, how grave and unanimous they are in their Elections: How much Union and Peace have been promoted among them by this Means; how much Reputation they have gotten by their calm and discreet Behaviour upon such Occasions, what Moderation (p) one Party of them have expressed toward another, when there has been a strong Competition.

I am

(p) Contending Parties have murdered one another in the Church upon the Election of a Bishop, till the Blood has run out in Streams into the Street; which gave Occasion to an Historian to say, that *the Pastor was then consecrated in the Blood of his Flock*.

Quamdiu in Ecclesia Plebs partem habuit in Episcopis & Presbyteris legendis, nunquam discordijs & factionibus civitates caruere, donec res ipsa & pax Ecclesiarum docuit plebi hoc jus ademptum, Magistratibus relinqui debere, quod postea soli sibi Clerici vindicabant. This is *Salmasius's* Account of the End of Elections by the People. *Def. Regia, C. 7.*

I am assured, that Materials would not be wanting for such an History, whereby it may be made appear that it is more for the Interest of Lawyers and Chirurgions than popular Elections should prevail than for the Service of Religion. The Non-conformists before the late War, did vehemently plead for the pretended Rights of the People in this Particular. This was always one chief Article of their Demands. The Writings of *Cartwright* and others of that Stamp, (q) are full of this Notion. They make this Principle of the People's chusing their Pastor the Price of our Saviour's Blood, so that no Authority can take it away, or the People themselves part with it. *Cann* in his Book of the *Necessity of Separation* insists mainly on this Particular, Sect. 2, 3. *Ball* speaks with more Temper, but still lays

(q) *David Blondel*, the most industrious of the Presbyterian Order, in his Apology *pro Hieronymi sententia*, spends many Pages in the latter End of that Treatise in giving the Practice of the Church for 10 Centuries, admitting this Power of the People in Ordinations, and that they have equal Right thereto, and are alike constituted by Christ his Vicars in the Case with the Clergy, *Laicos Fratres aequo cum Clero jure hac in parte Vicarios constitutos*, p. 471. and upon which he fixes a divine Right, immutable and indispensable, and what Ordinations were made during these Centuries, without the People's Choice, Suffrages, and Approbations preceding. *Aberrationes fuisse statuamus*, p. 542. 'Tis true his Argument is well, had the Performance been accordingly, and the Concurrence of 10 Centuries immediately upon the Apostles and Scriptures attesting any one Truth or Practice, is as authentick and ought to be received, as any Grounds or Motives of Faith can make it to be; nor can any thing be required more which can be thought to concur to the making a full Persuasion of the Truth under Debate. But alas! the chief Ingredient for a thorough Tradition is absent, Universality; it was so neither in all Places, nor at all Times, nor in any one Time or Century of the best and first Ages of the Church in every Instance of it, but still changed upon Accident, often and more upon Industry and Choice, and last of all wholly abolished and in good Times of the Church, without any Care or Design of Restitution, taken even out of the Hands of the Magistrate, and limited to the Bishops, *Con. Nic. Can. 4.*

lays great Strefs upon it, so as to make the Election of the People necessary to the full compleat Call of the Minister. Yet, when at the Beginning of the Rebellion they had turned out many of the loyal Clergy, (r) the Presbyterians that were sent to succeed them never asked the Consent of the People, no nor the Independents themselves; tho' they had formerly made loud Outcries against the Presbyterians on this Account. How the Presbyterians endeavoured to defend themselves against the Independents, and how the Independents were proved to be in the same Pickle, the Reader may inform himself by reading *Hollingworth's Examination of sundry Scriptures*, *Eaton and Taylor's Defence of the Position*, *Hollingworth's Rejoinder*. At last the Assembly was forced in effect to renounce this Divine Right, and to assert, that the Election of Ministers does not by divine Right belong wholly and solely to the People; and tho' they would seem to be very cautious and reserved by putting in the Terms wholly and solely, yet some of the Arguings upon this Head, render these two Words of little Importance: See *Jus Divinum Ministerij Evangelici*,
D

(r) See an Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, who were sequestered, harassed, &c. in the late Times of the grand Rebellion: Occasioned by the 9th Chapter (now the second Volume) of *Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter*. Together, with an Examination of that Chapter. By *John Walker*, M. A. Rector of *St. Mary's*, the more in *Exeter*, and some Time Fellow of *Exeter College in Oxford*. Tho' *Mr. Walker* does not pretend to have obtained a perfect Catalogue, yet he hath at least in the whole equalled the Number of the ejected Non-conformists, and brought some good Authorities from the Persons that lived in those Times, as *Bishop Bramhal*, and others, that the Sufferers in *London* and *Westminster* and the two Universities, for no other Crime but their Loyalty to their Prince, and their Firmness and Constancy to the established Church, besides the Multitudes that suffered in other Parts of the Kingdom, were more numerous than those Ministers that were ejected by the *Bartholomew Act*, 1662.

vangelici, P. 1. c. 8. p. 126. But *Emanuel Knutton* in his *seven Questions discussed*, makes clear Work of it, for says he, *I think a Minister may be sent of God by a Synod of learned and godly Divines to a pastoral Charge, tho' the People sometimes call him not*: As if he be to preach the Word in a prophane Parish, that desires not powerful preaching but hates it, and would oppose the coming in of such a Minister. The Synod may send him to such a Place, and God may bless his Labours to the Conversion of many there: There are too many ignorant Parishes in this Land, who will hardly ever call zealous and godly Ministers to them, if our blessed Parliament and Rev. Synod have not a care to send such to them, p. 9. Here is the Right of Patronage as fully asserted as may be, and I am surprized to find that Protestant Dissenters make it an Article of their Separation, especially when our Church proceeds with so much Caution in the Ordination of Ministers, and entrusting them with Cures after they are ordained, as our 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. Canons do evince.

And here I beg leave to repeat the wholesome Advice which Bishop *Burnet* in the History of his own Times Vol. 2. p. 391. gives his Brethren the Bishops. ' Bishops ought not to press their Children beyond their ' Inclinations to take Orders: For this looks as it they ' would thrust them, how unfit or how unwilling so- ' ever, into such Preferments as they can give or pro- ' cure for them. On the contrary, tho' their Child- ' ren desire to go into Orders, they ought not to suffer ' it, unless they see in them a good Mind and sincere ' Intentions, with the other necessary Qualifications; ' in which they cannot be deceived, unless they have a ' mind to deceive themselves: It is a betraying of their ' Trust, and the worst sort of Simony, to provide ' Children with great Dignities and Benefices, only as ' an Estate to be given them, without a due Regard to ' their Capacities or Tempers.' The present Lord Bi-
shop

shop (s) of *Ferns* and *Leighlin* has acquainted us with the Qualifications necessary in all those who are called to the high Office of a Bishop, and insists mainly on their Im-

D 2

partiality

(s) See the Constitution of our established Church, as founded on Law divine and human, considered. In a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Dublin, September 30, 1722; at the Consecration of the Right Rev. *Theophilus*, Lord Bishop of *Clonsfert*, now Lord Archbishop of *Cashel*. By *Edward Synge*, M. A. now Lord Bishop of *Ferns*, &c.

Vos venerandi Ecclesiæ nostræ Patres, vosque plurimum colendi Fratres, quorum fuerit verè Reverendis Episcopis in Ordinationibus assistere, precibus omnibus orandi estis & obtestandi, ne sacras vestras manus cuivis, utut vobis sanguine aut amicitia juncto temerè imponatis; ut juxta Ecclesiæ Canones debitam in mores, & doctrinam eorum qui sacros Ordines ambiunt inquisitionem prius faciatis, quam eos ad sacros Ordines promovere velitis, aut consentiatis. Sane vestram curam requirunt Canones, eam postulat Dei gloria, eam animæ pretioso Christi sanguine redemptæ vestræque fidei commissæ rogant flagrantque eam denique exigunt quæ Ecclesiæ nostræ ab extraneis, vel nunc impendent pericula.

Et si ad horum clamores furdi propter aliquam quæ inter vos, intercesserit necessitudinem, aut quavis alia de causa eos sacris Ordinibus initiare velitis, quos ob malos mores vel notabilem in sacris inscitiam sacro muneri ineptos noveritis, de ista temeritate tremenda erit vobis in ultimo die reddenda ratio, atque interim Sanctum Spiritum vendidisse, & Simoniz rei verius dicimini quam qui (quod a vobis absit) numerato pretio Ecclesiastica venduntur beneficia. Vestrum quodque erit Reverendi admodum in Christo Patres, malo antedicto, si quo casu obrepserit, aliquatenus mederi, providendo nimirum, ne ad curam animarum admittantur intra vestras Dioceses qui isti obeundo muneri, impares fuerint & inidonei.

Quoad ea beneficia quæ ad vestram collationem pertinerint, vobis integrum est, cum vacarint quos velitis instituere Pastores, nec dubitare fas est, quin ea in dignos saltem, si non, quod optandum foret, in digniores semper collaturi sitis, si quidem nihil sit quod in bonorum animis, Ecclesiæ commodo, & animarum saluti, & Dei gloriæ præponderare possit. Vide Concionem habitam ad Reverendissimos Archiepiscopos vere Reverendos Episcopos & Clerum inferioris domus Convocationis Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ, in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Patricij, Dublinij, 4 Nonas Februarij, 1703. A Joanne Stearne, S. T. D. Cancellario Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Patricij, Dublinij, uno e Procratoribus Cleri Diocesis Midenfis, nunc Episcopo Clogherensi. Jussu utriusque Domus Convocationis editam.

partiality in the conferring holy Orders and the disposal
 of Benefices. ' Every one knows, that the true End
 ' of the Institution of the ministerial Office, is this,
 ' that the People may every where be provided of fit
 ' and able Pastors to instruct them in the Laws of Christ;
 ' from hence then, it obviously follows, that no Con-
 ' sideration, other than a Knowledge of the good A-
 ' bilities and Disposition of the Persons, ought ever to
 ' influence a Bishop to ordain any to this Office, or
 ' appoint them the Exercise of it in particular Places:
 ' If therefore they, to whom the Care and Superinten-
 ' dency of these weighty Matters are committed,
 ' should at any Time govern themselves by other
 ' Maxims, if antient Friendship or Acquaintance, if
 ' Kindred or Relation, if the Sollicitations of those
 ' whom they desire to oblige, or fear to offend, should
 ' prevail with them to admit unqualified Persons into
 ' the Church, 'tis manifest, that they are guilty of a
 ' notorious Breach of the sacred Trust committed to
 ' them, and the Evils which follow from such a Con-
 ' duct are infinite, the important Care of Souls is ne-
 ' glected, Religion is dishonoured, unfit Persons thrust
 ' themselves into the Church, not with a View to do
 ' God Service, but out of hope of Profit and Advan-
 ' tage; and when they are there, instead of endeavour-
 ' ing, by Labour and Study, and a good and virtuous
 ' Deportment, to qualify themselves for it's more noble
 ' Employments, they make their Way, by fixing an
 ' Interest in those who have it in their Power to advance
 ' them, and discover a Disposition to yield to the Ap-
 ' plication of importunate and powerful Friends.
 ' 'Tis therefore much to be wished, that that solemn
 ' and awful Admonition, which St. Paul gives to
 ' Timothy, and in him to all Bishops in this Point, may
 ' at all Times make a deep Impression on their Minds:
 ' *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ,*
 ' *and the elect Angels, that thou observe these Things, with-*
 ' *out*

‘ out preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality, lay Hands suddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Men’s Sins. 1 Tim. 5. 21, 22.’

If an undeserving Person be presented to a Benefice, the People have still a (t) Power of dissenting upon such an Occasion if they shew good Reason. For if either Incapacity or notorious Wickedness be proved against such a one, he is to be put by and proceeded against according to the 71 Canon of our Church. Altho’ therefore the People cannot have the best they might, yet they are secured of such a Pastor as they may safely own

(t) Bp. Stillingfleet well observes, as to the Rights of Patrons, that it was not an original and absolute Right to dispose of Benefices as they pleased; but a limited Trust reposed in them, to put in fit Persons to discharge the Duties of their Places. It is very well known to all Persons who have looked into these Matters, that in the first Settlement of this Church of England, the Bishops of the several Dioceses had them under their own immediate Care; and that they had the Clergy living in Community with them, whom they sent abroad into several Parts of their Dioceses, as they saw Occasion to employ them; but that by degrees they saw a Necessity of fixing Presbyters within such a Compass, to attend upon the Service of God among the People that were the Inhabitants; that these Precincts, which are since called Parishes, were at first much larger, and cast into such Divisions in each Diocese as probably make up the several Deanries since; that when Lords of Manors were inclined to build Churches for their own Conveniences, they found it necessary to make some Endowments, to oblige those who officiated in their Churches to a diligent Attendance; that upon this the several Bishops were very well content to let those Patrons have the Nomination of Persons to those Churches, provided they were satisfied of the Fitness of those Persons, and that it were not deferred beyond such a limited Time. So that the Right of Patronage is really but a limited Trust, and the Bishops are still in Law the Judges of the Fitness of the Persons to be employed in the several Parts of their Dioceses. But the Patrons never had the absolute Disposal of their Benefices upon their own Terms; but if they did not present fit Persons within the limited Time, the Care of the Places did then return to the Bishop, who was then bound to provide for them. Bishop Stillingfleet’s Discourse concerning Bonds of Resignation, p. 309, 310.

own for a true one. But this Right for which the Dissenters now a days so earnestly contend is neither founded on Scripture Precedent or Command, and therefore the want of it cannot be a Reason of withdrawing Communion from our Church : And it is a likelier Way to get it restored and does less Mischief to continue in the Communion of the Church without this Privilege than to break Communion to regain it. And I doubt not but it would be an easier Matter to find an Expedient to give reasonable Satisfaction both to Patrons (u) and People, but this belongs to Authority. Did the Patrons

(u) Bishop Burnet in the 10th Chapter of his *Pastoral Care*, and in his *History of his Own Times*, Vol. 2. p. 393, has acquainted all Patrons with the Nature of that sacred Trust which is reposed in them; and it is to be hoped they will seriously consider what he has there offered, so as to discharge this great Trust to the Honour of God,

The Patronage of Benefices which have the Cure of Souls belonging to them, is a noble Dignity in a Family; it was highly esteemed in the Times of Popery, because the Patron was to be named in all the Masses said in his Church: There is a more real Value in it in our Constitution, since the Patron has the Nomination of him to whom the Cure of Souls is to be committed, which must take place, unless some just and legal Exception can be made by the Bishop. Even that is not easy to be maintained in the Courts of Law, where the Bishop will soon be run into so great an Expence, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy Men into the Service of the Church, who are in the Sequel Reproaches to it. And this is often the Case of the richest and best endowed Benefices.

Some sell the next Advowson, which I know is laid to be legal, tho' the Incumbent lies at the Point of Death; others do not stick to buy and sell Benefices when open and vacant, tho' this is declared to be Simony by Law. Parents often buy them for their Children, and reckon that is their Portion; in that Case it is true there is no Perjury in taking the Oath, for the Person presented is no Party to the Bargain: Often Ecclesiasticks themselves buy the next Advowson, and lodge it with Trustees for their own Advantage. Where nothing of all this Traffick intervenes, Patrons bestow Benefices on their Children or Friends, without considering either their Abilities or Merit; Favour or Kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a Part of the Benefices of England are

Patrons of Benefices upon every Avoidance, seriously weigh and consider the Advice given them by the Church, we should not hear such loud Complaints of Corruption as we frequently do. ‘ Episcopus graviter & studiose cohortabitur Patronos beneficiorum, ut cogitent necessitates Ecclesiæ, & ante oculos habeant ultimum illum diem, & judicium & tribunal Dei. Itaque ut neminem promoveant ad munus ecclesiasticum, nisi qui doctrinâ, judicio, pietate, probitate vitæ & innocentia possit onus tam grave sustinere, ut nihil in eâ re, nisi integrè, incorruptè, & sincerè faciant. Se enim usurum omnibus honestis & legitimis rationibus, ut verum possit invenire. Quod si vel in ipsâ præsentatione, vel etiam postea senserit corruptelam ullam aut Simoniacum (x) commercium quo-

are disposed of, if not Simoniacally, yet at least unworthily, without regard to so sacred a Trust as the Care of Souls? Certainly Patrons, who without due Regard and Enquiry put Souls into bad Hands, have much to answer for.

I will not say that a Patron is always bound to bestow his Church on the best Man he can find; that may put him on Anxieties, out of which it will not be easy to extricate himself; nor will it be always possible to ballance the different Excellencies of Men, who may have various Talents that lie several Ways, and all of them may be useful, some more, some less: But in this I am positive, that no Patron answers the Obligation of that Trust, unless he is persuaded that the Clerk he presents is a truly good Man, has a competent Measure of Knowledge, Zeal, and Discretion so suited to the People, for whom he names him, that he has reason to believe he will be a faithful Pastor and a prudent Guide to them. Patrons ought to take this on their Conscience, to manage it with great Caution and the Fear of God, and not to enter into the filthy Merchandize of the Souls of Men, which is too common, it is like to be a Moth on their Estates and may bring a Curse on their Families as well as on their Persons.

(x) The Author of the *Anatomy of Simon Magus, or the Sin of Simony laid open*, [London printed for Charles Brome, 1700] in the last Chapter humbly offers a Word or two of Advice to the Bishops and Governors of the Church, in order to remedy or prevent this great Sin of Simony. He ushers in what he has to say with a great deal of Submission and Respect, and presuming upon their

' quocunque modo, quantumvis obscure, directe vel
 ' indirecte, vel per ipsum vel per alios intercessisse; ut
 ' ad ipsum vel pecunia, vel pretium, vel commoditas
 ' aliqua vel pars aliqua fructuum perveniret, velle se
 ' facti nequitiam & Simoniam publicare & palam facere
 ' non tantum in cathedrali Ecclesia, sed etiam alibi, ad
 ' illius probum & dedecus sempiternum: Et Presby-
 ' terum quem ita nequiter præsentaverit, non tantum a
 ' Sacerdotio, in quod mala fide ingressus est, sed etiam
 ' ab omni Ministerio, & a totâ Diœcesi remove.

Pursuant to this Canon of the Church of *England*,
 made A. D. 1571, does the 34th Canon of the Church
 of *Ireland* run. ' The Bishop shall earnestly and dili-
 ' gently exhort Patrons of Benefices to consider the
 ' Necessaries of the Church, and to have before their
 ' Eyes the last Day of Judgment and the Tribunal Seat
 ' of

their charitable Indulgence, he humbly presents these Thoughts
 to them. 1. That much Deliberation and Circumspection is re-
 quisite in granting of Licence to young Men to step out to preach
 the Gospel. 2. That 'tis necessary to revive somewhat of the an-
 cient Discipline of the Church against this Evil, and to inflict
 upon those whom they shall find guilty of this Sin of Simony, either
 in Endeavour or in Deed, Censures proportionable to their Guilt.
 3. That when any Man addresseth himself to them cloth'd with a
 Presentation, it were fit they should seek to be informed by what
 Means he came by it; and if they find any probable Grounds for
 Suspicion of Simony, that they suspend their Procedure till it be
 cleared; and so much the rather, if he be a Person betwixt
 whose Parts and the Charge to which he is presented there is a
 great Disproportion; for that may give just Ground for Jealousy
 that all is not sound. 4. That it were most necessary that they
 should revive somewhat of the ancient Discipline against Simo-
 niacal Patrons. And, 5. he says, he could wish that their Zeal
 and Care to strengthen their own Hands for the purging of this
 Sin out of the Church, would move them by an unanimous and
 joint Address to our Sovereign, to petition his Majesty to give
 Strength to their Endeavours by his Authority, in making such
 Laws, as might not only oblige Patrons, as well as Persons pre-
 sented, to purge themselves of Simony before their Presentations
 be accepted; but as might also make them liable to such civil
 Sanctions (if found guilty) as have sometimes been imposed by
 the Laws of other religious and pious Princes.

* of God : Therefore that they prefer no Man to any
 * Ecclesiastical Living, but him which by Doctrine,
 * Judgment, Godliness, Honesty, and Innocency of
 * Life, is able to bear so heavy a Burthen, that they
 * do nothing therein, but uprightly, uncorruptly, and
 * truly : But if any Patron shall be convicted to have
 * made any Simoniack Contract, either directly or in-
 * directly, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, not
 * to be absolved but after publick Penance in the Cathe-
 * dral Church, and the Church so Simoniackally pre-
 * sented unto.

A third Text of Scripture strenuously insisted on
 by Protestant Dissenters in favour of popular Elections,
 is, *Acts 14. 23. And when they had ordained them Elders
 in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they com-
 mended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.* The
 Author of the *Rights of the Christian Church*, falsely
 so called, c. 9. sect. 52. p. 358. charges Episcopall Di-
 vines with a Corruption of this Text, alledging that
 the Greek Word χειροτονήσαντες, *Erasmus, Diodati*, and
 those who translated the *Switz, French, Italian, Bel-
 gick*, and even *English Bibles*, till the Episcopall Cor-
 rection, have interpreted *constituting, by the Suffrages or
 Election of the People.*

To this I answer, 1. They who make Use of Ar-
 guments taken from the Triflings and Impertinences of
 Grammarians, ought to be received only with Laugh-
 ter and Contempt, and not vouchsafed any serious An-
 swer. However, since the Strels of the Argument is
 laid upon this one Word, it is fit I should examine
 what Lexicographers and Criticks have said upon it.

χειροτονέω (γ) proprie significat manum portendo, item scisso,
 portensâ manu eligo, per suffragia creo, quoniam in
 suffragiis ferendis manus elevari solebant. Demosth.

Ο Δῆμος τὰ, ἐμὰς γνώμας περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐχειροτονεῖ.
 hoc est, scito suo probabat, sublatione manuum testaba-

E

EUT₃

(γ) Vide Pasoris Lexiconi.

tur, se habere decreta mea rata. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς
 πρεσβυτέρους, *Act. 14. 23. quumque ipsis per suffragia cre-*
assent Presbyteros, 2 Cor. 8. 19. χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν.
Suffragijs delectus ab Ecclesijs. Vulgata versio. Ordina-
tus ab Ecclesia. Arist. 9. Ethic. c. 2. sect. 1. κρατηθὲν
χειροτονιτέον (x) τὸν πολιτικόν. Imperator deligendus est belli
peritus. 2.

Χειροτονέω, (a) per suffragia creoo. This Word (saith *Steph.*
in Thess. Ling. Græc. upon the Word *χειρ*) when it go-
 verns

(x) *χειροτονιτοί.* When the Choice of a Magistrate was not made by Lots, the People expressed their Approbation by stretching out their Hands, as if it were to lay hold on Merit, on which Occasion the Assembly was held in the *Pnyx*, and were so called from the Manner of their Election in which the People gave their Votes by holding up their Hands. But this Custom in After-ages was strangely perverted, insomuch that Candidates for Preferment often stretched out their Hands first. The Election by *χειροτονί* continued some Time in the primitive Church. This is observed by my Countryman *Mr. Dawson*, in his learned Notes on the Orations of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* concerning the Crown, p. 34, 35.

(a) *Leigh's Critica Sacra* on the Hebrew Words of the old and Greek of the New Testament, *London 1662.* with a Supplement to it soon after. The Author of this Treatise was a very considerable Man, therefore it will not be amiss to give the Reader some Account of him.

Mr. Edward Leigh, Son of *Mr. Henry Leigh*, was born at *Shawell* or *Shashwell*, in *Leicester-shire*. He was educated in Grammar by one *Mr. Leigh* of *Wallshall* in *Staffordshire*, and at the University of *Oxford*, under the Tuition of *Mr. William Pemble*, where having proceeded in Arts, he removed to the *Middle-Temple*, and studied the Law; but the Plague forcing him out of *London* in 1625, he went into *France* farther to improve himself, and after his Return, spent some Years at the Temple in the Study not only of the Law, but Divinity and History, in which last he proved a Man of Eminence. In 1639, he was a Burgess for the Town of *Stafford* upon the withdrawing of several Members of the long Parliament to the King at *Oxford*. Afterwards he was appointed with *Mr. Selden*, *Mr. Francis Rous*, *Mr. Bulstrode Whislock*, &c. to sit in the Assembly of Divines, where he behaved himself as well and learnedly as most of the Divines themselves. He was also Colonel of a Regiment for the Parliament, *Custos Rotulorum* for the County of *Stafford*, and being numbred with those Presby-
 terian

verus an Accusative Case, signifieth not to give suffrage, but to create, ordain, or elect. *Ortum est hoc verbum a Græcorum consuetudine, qui porrectis manibus, suffragia ferebant, unde illud Ciceronis porrexerunt manus, Psephisma natum est.* Beza. *Per suffragia creo, quasi dicas, manum portendo, portensa manu eligo, item manum impono: quo gestu Apostoli usi fuisse leguntur in creandis verbi ministris, 1 Tim. 5. 11.* *Χειροτονειν* doth signify simply to chuse and appoint, tho' it be done with holding up of Hands, nor by the People. It is used by Ecclesiastical Writers for Imposition of Hands, which no way belong to the People, but was always reserved to the Apostles or their Successors, it is to hold up or

E 2

stretch

terian Members who were turned out of the House of Commons by the Army, Dec. 6. 1648, because he voted his Majesty's Concessions satisfactory, he betook himself wholly to his Study, till King Charles was restored, when General Monk brought all the secluded Members into Parliament, and in that Time composed many Books of Worth and Esteem with the Learned, viz.

I. select and choice Observations concerning the 12 *Cæsar's*, Oxford, 1635.

II. A Treatise of the Promises, in 5 Books, London in 1633, 1650, and 1657.

III. *Critica Sacra* on the Hebrew Words of the Old, and Greek of the New Testament, London 1662. With a Supplement to it soon after.

IV. A Treatise of Divinity in 3 Books, London 1646.

V. The Saints Encouragement in evil Times, or Observations concerning Martyrs in general, 1671.

VI. Annotations on all the New Testament, London 1650.

VII. A Philological Commentary, or an Illustration of the most useful Words in the Law, &c. 1671.

VIII. A System or Body of Divinity in 10 Books, London 1662.

IX. A Treatise of Religion and Learning in 6 Books, London 1656.

X. Annotations on the 5 poetical Books of the Old Testament, viz. Job, Psalms, &c. London 1657.

XI. Second Considerations of the High Court of Chancery, London 1658.

XII. Choice Observations on the Kings of England, from the Saxons to the Death of King Charles I. London 1661.

XIII. Three Diatribes, or Discourses, upon Travel, Money, and Measures, London 1671,

stretch out his own Hand, and not other Men's Hands, to give his own Voice, and signify his Consent by stretching forth his Hand, not to gather Voices or take the Consent of others; it may signify any Election of many expressing their Consent by writing, by lively Voice, or by going to one Side of the Place or Room where they are; whence they are said *Pedibus ire in Sententiam*; yea any Choice whatsoever, tho' made by one alone, as appeareth *Acts* 10. 41. The Apostles there were elected by Christ alone. *Dr. Field of the Church*, l. 5. c. 55.

But 3dly, What is said (b) of our *English* Version is false in Fact. For in the first Edition of the New Testament

(b) There could not possibly be a greater Instance of Insincerity and Indiscretion given, than what the Author of the Rights, &c. says in this Place. His learning is all transcribed out of Mr. Selden (*de Synedrjs* p. 571, 572.) who sets himself to prove the direct contrary in that very Place. Mr. Selden's first Words are these: *Quoquo autem modo Presbyteros rite creare, seu constituere, tunc significabat χειροτονειν illud in Novo Testamento usurpatum. Non per Suffragia eligere, ut voluere Viri magni aliquot.* And this he proves indisputably with great Learning, and yet all that is concealed, and the Instances on the other Side set forth with great Pomp, and the Author against his own Knowledge says that to elect by Voices is the genuine Signification of the Greek Word χειροτονειν in the New Testament, which he must mean or he means nothing. He perverts also what he produces from Mr. Selden about the Episcopal Correction of our Bible. Mr. Selden meant the Translation in Queen Elizabeth's Time which was made by Bishops; which altered *Congregation* in this Verse into *Church*, which Alteration as it was right, so Mr. Selden does not blame them for it. But the Author of the Rights, &c. calls King James 1st. the Episcopal Correction, and blames it for leaving out *by Election*. Now no Bishops were employed at that Time in that Work. See Bishop Burnet's Hist. Pref. Part, 2. p. 406. Coll. p. 366, 368. Mr. Selden plainly enough declares his Opinion to be that the Word χειροτονειν as it is used in the New Testament signifies to make and constitute, and not to elect by Suffrages, as he says some great Men would have it to mean. Nay, he affirms that if it should be granted, that the Word in the *Acts* should be understood according to its primary Signification, it would only follow that Paul and Barnabas by stretch-

Testament of Coverdale's Version, which came out in 1538, it is, *And whan they hadde ordyned them Elders thorow every Congregation.* But then 4thly, tho' the Translators of our Bible had no Precedent, yet their Version may be very easily defended. That the *Athe-*
nians

stretching out their Handshad chosen and constituted the Presbyters and not that any others were their Partners or Fellows in that Act. Erasmus's Paraphrase is, because the Propagation of the Gospel required, that the Apostles should be dispersed in divers Countries, they set over the People in every City, Presbyters chosen by the Consent of the People who might supply the Places of the absent Apostles.

The French Translation runs thus, *Et a pres per l'ad vis des Assemblies ils eurent crée des Anciens par chacune Eglise.* In both these it's easy to observe, that the chief Power and Authority is ascribed to the Apostles. As no one will say that a Proclamation is not given out by the King or Queen's Authority, tho' it be issued by the Advice of the Privy Council. As to what this Writer intimates, that the Episcopal Correction leaves out the Words by Election, I can assure the Reader, that the Bible called the Bishops Bible, as being revised by the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and published in 1568, reads it thus, and when they had ordained them Elders by Election in every Church. And thus Mr. Selden observes, *Et in recognitione etiam illa Episcopali eadem retinentur Vocabula, excepto quod Church pro Congregation inseratur.* But this Writer is in so much haste to snatch at any thing that but seems to be against the Bishops, that he does not allow himself time to consider whether it will bear Examination. But to close this Matter, I only beg leave to transcribe what Mr. Selden observes. *Et verum quidem est, says he, illud nempe porrigere primario atque ex origine sua id significare, unde etiam χειροτομία pro ipsa suffragiorum per manus porrectione satis est illis obvia, qua de re clare liquet ex Aristophane, Demosthene, Thucydide, alijs Vetustiorum Grecorum. Sed vero etiam in Scriptorum illorum seculis tot annorum spatijs, Novi Faderis Scriptionem antevertentibus, non solum manum sic porrigere, verum etiam simpliciter discernere, constituere, ordinare, creare, eligere, significasse χειροτονεῖν palam est, quoniam scilicet per ejusmodi manuum usum tam constitui solebant ac discerni leges, tum magistratus creari. In English thus: 'And 'tis true indeed that the Word χειροτονεῖν primarily and ordinarily signifies to stretch or reach out the Hand, from whence, as it's very obvious, χειροτομία is used for the giving of Votes by lifting up the Hands, as it may be plainly made appear from Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Thucydides, and others of the more ancient Greeks. But then 'tis true*
' too,

nians used the Word *χειροτονέειν* for chusing by Suffrages is certain : But that even these very *Athenians*, and afterwards the *Syro-Macedonians*, used the Word in another Sense, for appointing and constituting absolutely without any Regard to a previous Election, is equally

too, that in the Ages of the same Writers, who lived many Years before the Writing of the New Testament, the Word *χειροτονία* signified not only to stretch forth the Hand, but simply to judge, appoint, ordain, create, and chuse, to wit, because by the Use of Hands in this manner, Laws were wont to be decreed and established, and Magistrates to be created.' So that *χειροτονήσαντες*, which in *Acts* 14. 23. is translated *ordained*, is a Phrase of Speech *Ἀπὸ τοῦ* borrowed from an ancient Greek Custom of stretching forth the Hand in a voting of businesses, and 'tis applied to God himself touching his fore-eternal Choice of the Apostles to be Witnesses of the holy Gospel, *Acts* 10. 41. where it cannot possibly be taken in its native Sense as it denotes a chusing by Suffrages, no more than *συνκατελέγησαν* in the Election of St. Matthias by Lot, which is render'd *he was numbr'd with the 11 Apostles*, *Acts* 1. 26. For among the heathen, their Priests and Magistrates were eligible by Lots as well as by Voices, *the Priests especially*, saith Aristotle, *Pol. l. 4. c. 15.* This Word then does not simply signify an Imposition or laying on of Hands; for that the Holy Ghost commonly expresseth, in other Terms, as *χειροθεσία, ἐπιθέσις τῶν χειρῶν*, *Acts* 6. 6. *1 Tim.* 4. 14. *2 Tim.* 1. 6. But it speaks the whole compound Act, consisting of both Election and Ordination together, and is the same with *παράσχεσις*, *Tit.* 1. 5. generally to order or appoint, whether by Suffrage or without, and so 'tis frequently us'd in Classic Authors (even coëtantaneous with St. Luke or before him) as learned Mr. Selden has by most pregnant Instances at large proved it to my Hand, *De Synedr. l. 1. c. 14.* Now this is an Act that is all along in Scripture solely ascribed to the chief Governors of the Church, as in the aforeaid Text, *Acts* 14. 23. will very easily appear, if we consider but the Context, or grammatical Syntaxis of the Words; and when they had ordained them Elders, &c. What They? They who came from Derbe, v. 20. returned thence to *Lystra, Iconium*, and *Antioch*, v. 21. and these were none other than St. Paul and St. Barnabas. So that here is no mention, or the least Intimation of the People's joint Concurrence in the Action. For the *χειροτονήσαντες*: were the Apostles, they were the Electors. *Χειροτονέω* in the Tropical Sense of chusing, signifies not to chuse by the Extension of another Man's Hand, but his own; or not to ordain any Person on another Man's *χειροτονία* or Election, (as this forced Construction designs) but whatever the Act in Form or Virtue was, it is solely attributed to the Apostles.

equally certain. The *Syro-Macedonian* was the Dialect which was used by the Writers of the New Testament, particularly by St. Luke, who was by Birth a *Syrian*, and by Reason of his great Skill in *Greek* is generally believed to have been of *Macedonian* Extraction. The *Syriack* Translation of the New Testament, which is indisputably the oldest extant, goes a great way to determine this Matter. There these Words are rendered thus: *Wakei mou lehoum becol hedtho Kaifhe: And they appointed (or constituted) to them in every Church Elders.* *Koum*, the Root of *Akeimon*, signifies to constitute, and is used in the Version of *Alexander Balas's* Letters to *Jonathan*, *Judas Maccabeus's* Brother, *1 Macc.* 10. 21. where the *Greek* is καθιστάμεν, *We ordain thee to be the High Priest: We hosho akeimnok rabh cobneh dehamok.* This shews that the *Syriack* Translators here took καθιστάν and χειροτονεῖν to be synonymous, as they are put in *Hesychius*. The next Translation which we have of the New Testament is the vulgar *Latin*, and there χειροτονήσαντες is rendered *constituissent, appointed.* These two venerable Authorities may well be thought sufficient to justify our Translators in leaving out the Words *by Election*, and putting in *ordain* alone, which was the Word they also used, *1 Macc.* 10. 21.

But we are told that the Protestant Translators, many of whom were Men of incomparable Learning, understood χειροτονεῖν in its genuine Sense, and have therefore rendered it by Words implying Election, thereby intimating that the People had a Right to appoint their own Ecclesiastical Officers. Let us examine this Matter. Here in the first place it ought to be observed, that those who translated it *appointing by Suffrages*, have this to say for themselves, that the wrong rendering of this long contested Word is not originally to be laid at their Doors; but in Truth the Disciplinarians finding the Word so rendered in famous Versions, were willing to adhere to that Sense which was so very favourable to their Purpose. The first Translator that altered the
common

common Acceptation of the Word, was *Sanctus Pagninus*, a Dominican, whose *Latin* Version of the Bible is the oldest we have since the Restoration of Letters. That he had no Design of favouring popular Elections of Church Officers is most probable; but then he set himself to contradict, or as he called it, to mend *St. Hierome* wherever he could. Now he renders *χειροτονεῖν*, *cum suffragijs delegissent*, who is herein followed by *Beza*. *Castellio*, tho' as sincere a Protestant as *Beza*, and perhaps every whit as good a *Grecian*, leaves out *suffragijs*, and says only, *Seniores in singulas Ecclesias creantur*, appointed them Elders in every Church. *Luther* says, *ordained*, as we do, and his Translation is followed by all the Versions of the *Lutheran Churches* of the North.

The Author of the *Rights*, &c. asserts that *Diodati* and the Translators of the Bible used in the *Italian Churches* render *χειροτονεῖν* by *choosing by Suffrages*. Some indeed do so, but not all. For *Massimo Theofilo*, whose Preface shews him not to have been a Papist, in his Version renders it, *Poi che hebbero ordinati per ciascheduna chiesa i preti*, After they had ordained Priests in every Church. *Theofilo's* Judgment is the more considerable, because three Years before, in 1562, there appeared another *Italian* Translation of the New Testament, which has it, *Poi che per l' avviso de la congregazione hebbero ordinati lor de seniori*, After that by the Advice of the Congregation they had ordained them Elders; which is just the same with the *Geneva* Version, *Après que par l' avis de assemblée ils eurent etablis de anciens en chaque Eglise*.

The *Spanish* Translators of the New Testament are also divided. The oldest Version (whose Preface shews the Author either to have been no Papist, or at least to have proceeded upon Protestant Principles, tho' without declaring himself to be of any Side) appeared at *Venice* in 1556 in 8vo. that renders it thus, *T despues que les uvieron elegido en cada Yglesia Ancianos*, And after they had

had chosen them Elders in every Church. Here is nothing of Suffrages. The second was made by *Cassiodoro de la Reyna*, a professed Protestant, who translated the whole Bible into *Spanish*. His Version was printed at *Basil* in 1569 in 4to. He says, *Y aviendoles constituydo ancianos en cada una de las Iglesias,* And having appointed them Elders in every Church. Here also are no Suffrages. *Cassiodoro de la Reyna's* Version was afterwards altered and set forth as his own by *Cyprian de Valera*, who also translated *Calvin's Institutions* into *Spanish*. His Edition of the New Testament came out at *London* 1596. He there follows the *Calvinists*, and renders it thus: *Y quando les huvieron elegido por votos ancianos en cada una de las Iglesias,* And when they had chosen them Elders in every Church. So that here are two against one.

Mr. *Le Clerc* shall close this List, who renders it *Leur ayant donc choisi de pretres en chaque Eglise,* Having then chosen them Priests in every Church. His Note shews that he took this wholly to be the Apostles Act, as it certainly was. *Comme les Eglises Chrétiens ne pouvoient subsister long tems sans quelque Forme de Gouvernement, les Apostres choisirent ceux qui leur parurent les plus propres à les conduire, & les nommeren Pretres ou anciens, & Eveques ou Inspecteurs.* And he could be no Stranger to the Disputes which had formerly been raised concerning the genuine Signification of *χειροτονειν*, so that his Authority is very considerable in itself, as well as proper to be urged against this Assertor. Now, if the Reader would farther know why the Words *by Election* were struck out, and *ordained* left alone by those who revised the old Translation in *K. James the First's* Time, he may read (c) Mr. *Bois's* Vin-

F dication

(c) *Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς Πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἑκκλησίαν.*] *Vetus:* Et cum constituissent illis, &c. *Erasmus:* Et cum suffragijs constituissent illis, &c. Duo ejusdem significationis verba simul conjungens, id quod sæpiusculum facit. *Beza & Piscator:* Quumque ipsis per suffragia creassent, &c. Non faveo Romanæ Hierarchiæ, certe non faveo; & tamen existimo, ante exortam de disciplinâ ecclesiasticâ

dication of this very Thing, who was one of the last Committee that sat at *Stationer's-Hall* in 1611, and revised the whole Work, after all the Translators had sent in their several Versions from *Cambridge, Oxford, and Westminster*. And now upon the upshot, since all the ancient Versions, and the most considerable modern ones, except the Calvinists, agree in rendring χειροτονεῖν by Words which make the constituting Elders in every Church, to be

siaſticā controverſiam, neminem fuiſſe paulo æquiozem, cui verſio vulgata, ſi minus præferanda alijs, at ſaltem admodum tolerabilis hoc loco non videretur. Noſtri interpretes palmam illi tribuunt, ſic enim habent, *and when they had ordained them Elders in every Church*. Τὸ χειροτονεῖν, ſi uſum loquendi potius quam ſyllabas ipſas (quibus inhære ſæpe parum eſt tutum) reſpicias, nihil aliud declarat, quam conſtituere, creare, ordinare, designare, ſive id fiat per ſuffragium unum, ſive per plura, ſive abſque ſuffragijs omnino. Exempla paſſim occurrunt. Chryſoſtomus, Hom. xxxii. in Matthæum, (Edit Savil. p. 218.) hæc habet verba: Λαυθανόντως ἑαυτὸν ἐμφαίνει τὸν τὸ Κύρος ἔχοντα. εἰπὼν γὰρ δέηθε τῷ Κυρίῳ θειριςμῶ, οὐδὲν δ' ἡθέντων αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἐυχαμένων, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν θέως χειροτονεῖ. i. e. *Teſte indicat ſeiſum eſſe, qui auctoritatem habeat; nam cum dixiſſet, rogate dominum meſſis, & illi nec rogarent, nec precarentur, ipſe eos ſtatim designat*. Inſigne eſt illud Maximi Tirij de Darij equo herum ſuum hinnitu ſolo regem Perſarum creante: Δαρεῖον ὃ πρότερον προεκύνησαν Πέρσαι, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνηſεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑβριſτὴς ἵππος. i. e. *Darium non prius adorarunt Perſæ quam equus laſciviens regem illum creaffet*. Plura exempla non adjicio, nam hæc duo ſatis docent parum ſolide ratiocinnari eos, qui ex vi vocis hujus argumantur Paulum & Barnabam in hoc negotio conſtituendi Presbyteros, nihil per ſe egiſſe, ſed expectaſſe ſuffragia & conſenſum aliorum. Non nego eos aſſumpſiſſe ſibi alios; ſed id ex vi vocis hujus ſatis ſolide concludi poſſe, id vero nego. Heſychius: Χειροτονεῖν, καθιſτάν, ψιφίζειν, id eſt, conſtituere, decernere, addo etiam eligere. Nam mox ſequitur, Χειροτονία ἐκλογὴ. Socrates Hiſt. Eccl. lib. i. c. 38. de Constantino magno loquens, filios ſuos in imperij conſortium aſſumentes, ſic ait: Τὸν τῷ Πάπῳ ἐπώνυμον Κωνſταντῖον ἐν τῇ τριακονταετηρίδῃ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βαſιλείας, ἐχειροτόνηſεν. Hic κατέſηſεν & ἐχειροτόνηſεν idem prorſus valent. Theodoritus: περὶ Προνοίας l. 8. p. 175. ἀπαντων με τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν κηδεμόνα κεχειροτόνηκεν ὁ Δεſπότης; inquit Joſephus ad heram ſuam, cum illa ad peccatum cum illa committendum eum hortaretur. Boſſius Collat. vet. interpret. p. 414, 416. Video Act. 14. 23. in popularium electionum gratiam allegatum, idque a viro clariffimo & in criticis ſacris

be as to the judicial Part, wholly the Apostles Act : Since the oldest, and the newest, the *Syriac*, and Mr. *Le Clerc's* agree in this Matter : *Utri creditis quirites?* Certainly it is more reasonable to follow this Majority, whose Authority in it self is greater than the others, who, tho' learned Men in themselves, yet have with too great Rashness left the good old Way.

It appears then by this Text, that St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas* acted by their own Authority, when they or-

F 2

dained.

facris longe peritissimo [Beza in hunc locum] qui χειροτονήσαντες πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, vertit, cum per suffragia creassent per singulas Ecclesias Presbyteros; & monet, vim verbi χειροτονεῖν notandam esse, ut Paulum & Barnabam sciamus nihil privato arbitrio gessisse, nec ullam in Ecclesia exercuisse tyrannidem. Nempe quia, quod ibidem annotat, verbum hoc ortum est ex Græcorum consuetudine qui porrectis manibus suffragia ferebant. Quasi vero quæ a Paulo & Barnaba sanctis Christi Apostolis in constituendis Ecclesijs gesta sunt, ea illorum arbitrio tribuenda, & non Spiritus Sancti ductui & impulsui adscribenda forent; & si quid egerint inconsultis uniuscujusque Ecclesiæ singulis membris in re in quâ vix consilium dare valet vigesimus quisque fidelium, exempli gratiâ, si Timotheo Ephesium, Tito Cretensium Ecclesiæ curam Sanctus Paulus commiserit, non rogatis & numeratis omnium sententijs, an scilicet ijs idonei viderentur quibus ea provincia demandaretur, statim tyrannidem exercuisse dicendi sint. Et ad verbi χειροτονεῖν vim quod attinet, ex Græcorum consuetudine ortum esse, & per suffragia, manuum porrectione significata eligere, primum significasse constat. Sed verborum significatio non ex eorum etymologia semper, sed sæpius etiam ex usu quærenda est. Jam si verbi χειροτονεῖν usum spectemus, maxime apud eos scriptores qui circa Ecclesiæ Christianæ ætatem primam floruerunt, aut in aliis Scripturæ sacræ locis, quod longe plus ponderis habere debet, nihil aliud significat quam simpliciter constituere, nulla multitudinis suffragiorum ratione habitâ. Cum Philo-Judæus de Mose scribens [in vita Mosis, l. 1. p. 633.] dicit Deum βεβλόμενον ὅτι ἐχειροτόνησεν ἡγεμόνα τιθεῖσθαι, eum quem constituerat ducem honorare, nemo sane Mosem filiorum Israel ducem communibus populi suffragijs a Deo creatum somniaverit. Cum Maximus Tyrius, de Darij ad Persarum imperium evectione, ait, Δαρῖον ὃ πρότερον προσεκύνησαν οἱ Πέρσαι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὕβριδος ἵπκος, *Darium non prius adoraverunt Persæ quam eum in imperio constituisset ferociens seu lascivus equus*; nullus locus est communibus quorumcunque suffragijs. Sed hoc ipso libro, c. 10. v. 41. verbum προχειροτονεῖσθαι quod eundem

ortum

dained these Elders. Whether the Churches recommended or no, does not appear by the Text : It is probable they did, and that the greatest Part of the Ecclesiastical Officers in these Apostolical Times, were first chosen by the People, and then ordained or consecrated by the Bishops. Tho' it is not likely that the Apostles always bound themselves by these Rules. When St. Paul left *Titus* in *Crete*, and there commanded him to ordain Elders in every City; and when he planted *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, he acted solely by his own Apostolical Power : Nor was this a lordly superiority in him, who was so immediately assisted by the Spirit of God. But whether he and *Barnabas* appointed those whom the Churches chose, or whether they put in Elders by their own Authority, to us it is all one, it was their Act, and thereby the Succession was derived, which is all that is here contended for. See Mr. *Wotton's* Vindication of his Sermon preached at *New-Port Pagnel* in the County

ortum habet, ubi S. Petrus Apostolos a Deo resurrectionis Christi testes προκεχειροτομένους præordinatos dicit, pro communibus Ecclesiæ calculis adeo non usurpatur, ut vel ipso Cl. Beza fatente, eo loco tacita sit Antithesis inter Dei χειροτονίαν & hominum suffragia. Sunt enim, quod recte ad eundem locum annotat, Apostoli immediate ab ipso Christo, id est, a Deo designati, ut diserte quoque expressit Lucas in hujus libri præmio. Ideo cum de surrogando Judæ successore quæreretur, res est sorti commissâ, tanquam arcano Dei judicio. Quæ a lectore velim observari, quoniam S. Matthiæ in Apostolorum collegium co-optationem, quidam afferre non dubitant quasi id pro electionibus faciat. Sed si daremus *Act. 14. 23.* τὸ χειροτονεῖν primam suam significationem retinere, & notare creationem Presbyterorum, quæ per communia multorum facta sit suffragia, id ad Apostolos Paulum & Barnabam non ad ipsas Ecclesias referendum esset. Non dicuntur enim fideles sibi, sed Apostoli illis χειροτονῆσαι πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Neque unquam significavit verbum illud, aliorum, sed proprijs suffragijs magistratus creare. Quo tamen significato hic sumi deberet, si ad fidelium suffragia referretur. Quæ omnia sane Cl. Beza pro sua eruditione atque diligentia annotasset, si ad illius vocis elucidationem animum præjudicijs vacuum adjecisset.

Vide *Sancta Ecclesia Anglicana, adversus iniquas atque inverecundas schismaticorum criminationes, vindicias*, c. 31. p. 406, 407. Authore *Johanne Durello, sancta Ecclesia Anglicana Presbytero, Regiæ Majestati a sacris.*

County of *Bucks* September 2d. 1706. at the Primary Vifitation of the Right Rev. Father in God *William*, then Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, now Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. See also Dr. *Hammond* on *Acts* 14. 23. and Bishop *Beveridge* on the first Apostolical Canon.

The main Text used by Dissenters for Church Government partly Democratical, is 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the Word and Doctrine.*

To this I answer with Bishop (d) *Hopkins*: All must have that honour given them which is due to their Function, but those who rule the Flock well, καλῶς, i. e. not barely commendably, but excellently must have this honour doubled to them, and those who not only thus rule, but excel others in teaching them likewise, must have this double Honour doubled upon them, especially they that labour in the Word and Doctrine.

Now this double Honour is commonly taken for the honour of Reverence and the honour of Maintainance; and perhaps this Place doth most especially mean this latter, when it speaks of double honour. For this Word τιμή often signifies Reward and Maintainance, and is in that Sense used in this very Chapter, v. 3. Χήρας τιμὰ, τὰς οὕτως χήρας, honour Widows, that is relieve Widows, that are Widows indeed. And hereby the Way we may see how groundless their Assertion is, who from this Place establish an Order new and unknown to the Church of God, till of late of Lay-ruling Elders. For if this Text gives them any such Authority, it gives them the double Honour too, and so consequently, by divine Right they may challenge Maintainance from the People, as well as the Ministers themselves, nay, and if they rule well, a large and plentiful Maintainance, double as much as may suffice others of their own Rank and Order; which Honour when they shall challenge to themselves, as doubtless they may upon
as

(d) See his Exposition on the 5th Commandment, p. 168. Folio. Dr. *Downam*'s Vindication of his Sermon, l. 1. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Bishop *Taylor*'s Episcopacy asserted, p. 166, 167.

as good Proof and Evidence as the Authority they pretend to, certainly their Pastors will find greater Reason to annihilate these Creatures of their Fancy and Politick Accomodation, than ever they had to forge them.

Blondel, in his Treatise *de Jure Plebis in Regimine Ecclesiastico*, appears with all his Might for the Interest of the whole People the *Universa Plebs*, but he applies himself downright to disprove the divine Institution of the Order of ruling the Elders. His main Scope obliged him to it. For if the *Plebs Universa*, all and every one of the People have by Divine Right such an Interest in the Government of the Church as he pleads for; how had it been accountable that likewise by divine Right there should have been a certain Order of Men set apart to represent the People? sensible of this, I say, *Blondel* says plainly, he finds no mention made of other Elders besides Pastors meddling in Church Government before *Constantine's* (e) Time. He maintains zealously, fully, and solidly, that that Text, 1 Tim. 5. 17. doth not at all make for such an (f) Order. And he laughs heartily at *Gerſon Bucer*, for so voluminously maintaining such an unfounded (g) Order.

But lastly, I make it my Request to the Dissenters of the present Age (as Bishop (h) *Bramhall* did to Mr. *Baxter*) to shew me but one formed Church, or the Name of one Lay Presbyter who exercised or challenged Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or the Power of the Keys in the Church before *Calvin's* return to *Geneva* in the Year 1538. after he had subscribed the *Augustan* Confession and Apology for Bishops, and I will give them leave to be as Anti-Episcopal as they will. I will shew them the proper and particular

(e) Sub Constantino nova rerum facies apparuit; non tamen fraternitatis conditio deterior facta est.—— Seniores suos habuit a Clero diversos qui fidelis plebis nomine regiminis, quasunque partes suo ordine ac modo attingerent, p. 27. of Edit. *Amstelodami* Anno 1677. & rursus p. 313. *plura huc facientia videre est.*

(f) P. 306, 307, 308, 309.

(g) Ad ravim usque vir pius.—Bucerus inclamet.—sed ipse se non modo falsa sed & compugnantia loqui sentiat, p. 308.

(h) See his Works, p. 595, 619.

particular Names of Apostles, Evangelists, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, in Scriptures, in Councils, in Fathers, in Histories; if they cannot name one particular Lay-Elder, it is because there never was any such Thing in *rerum natura*, for 1500 Years after Christ.

Bishop *Morley* (i) hath since acquainted us, That, conversing with several Divines at *Antwerp*, they owned to him that our Church Government by Bishops was lawful and withal that one of them told him they were weary of their Lay-Elders which he acknowledged to be a Novelty unknown and unheard of in the primitive Times.

Mr. *Baxter* in his Preface to his 5 *Disputations of Church Government*, says expressly, that as far as he could understand the greatest Part of the *English* [Presbyterian] Ministers were as far against Lay-Elders as any Prelatists of them all. He confesses himself to be one, and cites Mr. *Vines* for another who with Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Caril*, and Mr. *Seaman*, attended the Commissioners of Parliament, at the Treaty of *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, 1648.

It is now time to consider what Protestant Dissenters have to offer in point of Reason for popular Elections.

It is thought unreasonable, say they, that a Man should be constrained to trust the health of his Body to a Physician of whom he has no Knowledge, whether he be either skilful or faithful, when he may have others of whose Judgment and Fidelity he approveth: How much lets should Men be forced to trust the Charge of their Souls to Men whom they know not, approve not, nor ever consented unto, or desired to be their Ministers, yet they must take him who is appointed, whether they will or not, if it were to their Life's End, they shall have no liberty to elect another.

However

(i) See his Preface to several Treatises, p. 10. Anno 1683.

However the Dissenters may boast that it is their unalienable Right to chuse their own Teachers upon Avoidance, yet they ought to remember, that a Submission of private Rights to the Publick, is the fundamental Article of Government. Nay, that some Rights are restrained meerly for the sake of publick Convenience, which I take to be the Case of popular Elections, there was a Time when they did too much prevail, and occasioned great Tumults and Blood-shed; and might give Occasion for the Emperors to take the Elections into their own Hands; they were better there than in the Mob. Because less Mischief ensued from thence, and it may very reasonably be supposed that the Emperors were better Judges than the Mob of the Candidates Abilities.

But 2dly, the Parallel between the corporal and spiritual Physician will not hold. For skill and faithfulness is all that is requisite in a Physician for the Body. But in a Pastor, the chief Thing requisite and most immediately essential is Power. For he acts as a Proxy or Ambassador from God to us, and it is not our Choice that can give him that Deputation. Skill and faithfulness are indeed to be desired in him and are necessary to enable him to execute his Commission well, but not absolutely necessary, he may execute it effectually without them. The Case of Mankind is not only that of a sick Man, but it is also that of a condemned Prisoner, and a Man authorized by the King to open the Prison Doors and deliver a Prisoner his Pardon (k) is more desired by him than all the skilful Lawyers in the World.

3dly,

(k) I know 'tis frequently objected against the Clergy as an Act of Presumption, that they should pretend to forgive Sins, and if they cannot, to what purpose do they talk of their Absolution, since other Men can read the Gospel, and the Absolution or retaining of Sins therein contained, as well as any Bishop or Priest ordained by him?

Ans/w. How plausible soever this Objection may appear, it is in other Words what *Corah, Dathan and Abiram* said against *Moses and Aaron*: *Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy every one of them: Wherefore then lift you up your selves above the*

3dly, I answer, a man cannot with a safe Conscience neglect all the regular authorized Physicians and employ a Quack or Mouncebank expressly forbidden by the Law, and the mischievous Effects of this Liberty of chusing Physicians among the People, are rather an Argument why they should be restrained by Laws from this Liberty, than an Encouragement to our Governours to permit People to chuse their Pastor.

4thly, It is at the Peril of Men's Lives that they chuse Physicians, and if they reject all those who are legally authorized, and chuse one unlicensed for themselves, they venture their Lives on their Choice, and if he who is chosen proves unskilful, he may destroy their Body, and make them appear before God guilty of their own Deaths. Now if the Dissenters will but grant, that if such Mistake in the Choice of a Pastor, they do it at the peril of their Souls as much as the others do it at the peril of their Lives, and must appear as Schismatics before God, and will be condemned as such for their Presumption, I shall not grudge them the use of a Liberty which they must exercise with so much hazard, and if this was but duly inculcated, it would be a sufficient Bar to Schism, and Men would not so easily as they commonly do, *heap up*
G
to

the Congregation of the Lord? Numb. 16. 3. The declaratory Power which the Clergy exercise is likewise judicial. As when a Man vested with Authority, and executes the Office of a Judge, does declare the Law in such and such a Case, such a Declaration is a Sentence, and has its Effect according to the Law. Thus when an Herald reads a Declaration of War with the Solemnity appointed, it authorizes and begins the War. Any one may read such a Declaration as well and as loud as the Herald; but the Difference is, their reading signifies nothing, has no Effect at all: But the Herald reading it makes it War, because he is empowered and appointed by the King so to do. And thus the Clergy are Heralds appointed and authorized by Christ to proclaim his Peace to the World, or his Wrath if they obey not: And he has promised to ratify in Heaven what they thus declare in his Name upon Earth. John 20. 23. *Whose soever Sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose soever Sins ye retain, they are retained.*

to themselves Teachers having itching Ears, 2 Tim. 4. 3.

5thly, Men in Hospitals are confined to Physicians, and they must either take those appointed by the Laws of the Hospital or procure their Governors Assent for the use of others, or leave the Society: And so he who is a Member of the Church ought either to be content with the Pastor assigned him by the Church, or else he ought, if any Matter of Difficulty, which requires extraordinary Skill, occurs, to call in another with his Consent, which was never (l) yet denied.

Lastly, the People's Right to chuse their Minister had been insisted on by Mr. *Baxter* in Answer to Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Letter, p. 16. answered by Dr. *Stillingfleet's* *Unreas. of Sep.* Part 3. Sect. 24, 25. to which Mr. *Baxter* replies, c. 9. of his 2d. *true Def.* to which there is a Rejoinder by the Defender of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, from p. 474, to p. 557. where I think it rests, Mr. *Baxter* having made no Reply, as I can find in his Answer to Dr. *Sherlock*. But this Objection has been since considered by the present learned Bishop of *Winchester* in an excellent (m) Treatise, entituled the Reasonableness of Conformity, &c.

(l) Because of the Danger of the Vulgar's being misled, our Church doth send them frequently to their Pastors and Ministers for publick Instruction and private Advice and Counsel: And inferior Ministers it refers to their Bishop: And if the Bishop be in doubt, as to any Part of the Service prescribed by our Church, he may send for the Resolution thereof to the Archbishop. *Preface concerning the Service of the Church.*

(m) In the Beginning of Queen *Anne's* Reign, the Life of Mr. *Baxter* (first wrote by himself, but afterwards epitomized by Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, a learned Nonconformist Divine) was published. This Book was answered by Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, a learned young Divine, in a very exact and moderate Stile, but full of Force and Solidity. He grounding his Arguments upon Concessions drawn from Mr. *Calamy's* Book, gains a perfect Conquest over his Adversary. *Nichols Def. of the Ch. of Eng.* p. 137. Mr. *Hughes*, in his Preliminary Dissertation to *St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio*, says, Mr. *Hoadley* has with very great Perspicuity and Judgment answered all the

&c. from p. 168, to 179. where the Reader will find abundant Satisfaction.

I must confess, the learned are very much divided upon the Head of popular Elections: Some think the People were never allowed any other Power save only to give their Testimonials to the Party elected, or to make Exceptions if they had any just or reasonable Exceptions against him. So *Habertus*, (n) *Sixtus Senensis*, (o) *Bellarmin.* (p) Others say, the People were absolute and proper Electors, and that from the Apostolical Right which they always enjoyed for a Succession of many Ages. This Opinion is advanced with great Shew of Learning asserted by *Blondel* (q) against *Sancta Clara*, and the rest of the other Opinion. *De Marca* (r) takes a middle Way between these two Extrems. He says the People had as much Power anciently as any of the Clergy below Bishops, that is, their Consent was required in the Promotion of a Bishop as well as their Testimony: Yet he will not allow this to be called Electing; for the Designation, Election, or Judgment, still belonged to the Metropolitan with the Synod of Provincial Bishops. The best Account of this Matter is indeed in *De* (s) *Marca* and the

G 2

greatest

the Arguments produced from holy Scripture for the Authority of the Laity in Things sacred.

(n) *Archierat.* p. 436.

(o) *Bibliothec.* l. 5. Annot. 118.

(p) *De Cler.* l. 1. c. 7.

(q) *Apol.* p. 379.

(r) *Petrus de Marca* primo reformatæ Ecclesiæ in Galliâ minister, deinde ad pontificios deficiens Archiepiscopus Parisiensis evasit. Vir majori doctrina quam probitate, nihilominus multa post se reliquit scripta quæ pro Papæ causâ minime faciunt. Extat ejus volumen egregium de Concordia Imperij & sacerdotij. *Nicols de lit. invent.* p. 147.

(s) It is generally agreed by learned Men, *De Marca de Conc. Imp. & Sac.* l. 8. c. 9, 10. *Bishop Stillingfleet's Unreas. of Separ.* p. 326. that the Right of Patronages came in upon the Division of Dioceses into distinct Parishes, and the founding of Churches in Country Places. For to give greater Encouragement to such pious and useful Works, the Founder of any Church who settled an Endowment

greatest Part of what has been said on this Subject is to be found in him, but if I understand the Matter right, the Question was never meant of every particular Persons Consent whether he may chuse to himself a separate Governour as he may a Physician, but whether the Body of Christians in a City had not the Power to receive or reject a Bishop offered to them by the Ordainers, for if the Church be a Body, the chusing Church Governors must belong to them as a Body if at all, and therefore they must not act separately each Man to chuse one for himself as he thinks fit.

The primitive Bishops sometimes appointed as well as ordained Church Officers by their sole Authority. Thus *St. Cyprian* in his 38th. Epistle, speaks with respect to
Aurelius.

ment upon it, was allowed to retain the Right of Presentation to himself, to nominate a fit Clerk to the Bishop for his Approbation. See also *Clergyman's Vade mecum*, vol. 1. p. 64. *Nelson's Rights of the Clergy*, p. 24. *Watson's Compleat Incumbent*, vol. 1. c. 8 p. 115. *Godolphin's Rep. Can.* c. 16. p. 178, 179. *Bishop Gibson's Codex A. r.* p. 251, 252. *Hughes's Parson's Counsellor*, c. 6. *Bing. Antiq.* vol. 3. p. 525. *Bret's Account of Church Govern.* c. 7. p. 172. Now since in the Judgment of so many learned Men, this was allowed to be the Original of Patronages, that Noblemen built Churches, endowed them, and provided Ministers to serve in them for the Instruction of themselves and Families, and allowed their poor Neighbours to come and worship and be instructed with them, is it not very unreasonable that these Neighbours should strive to have the chusing their own Chaplains out of their Posterity's Hands who endowed them? So that if the Body of the People have not the Power of a Negative Voice in the Election of their Pastors, that is not the Church's Fault, but the People's, who have devolved this Power on Princes and Patrons, and if they would recover it they must apply themselves to the King and Parliament, who only can redress them. But this the Parliament would not grant to the Presbyterians in the late Times, and it is not like to be now granted to us. And for my part I cannot see what our Adversaries would be at. For in my Opinion the Ministers of the established Church are the only Pastors chosen by the Body of the People, because they are chosen in that Way and by those Laws which the People by their free Consent have established; and therefore they are in their several Places and Offices not by the Choice of a few overvoted discontented Members, but by the established and repeated

Aurelius. In Ordinationibus Clericis, Fratres charissimi solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare: Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum precedunt divina suffragia. In promoting Persons to any Order of the Clergy, my Custom, dearest Brethren, hath hitherto been to take your Advice along with me, and to examine the Merits of each Candidate, with the whole Courle of his Life and Conduct in a common Council with you. But when God hath signally approved

repeated univerfal Consent of the whole Body of the Church of Christ and People of the Kingdom, lawfully from Time to Time represented by their freely chosen Substitutes. The Crown, Nobility and Gentry, by the antient Laws and Constitutions of *Scotland*, had the Right of presenting Ministers to the Livings in their Gift to the Bishop of the Diocese for Institution and Induction; but upon the Abolition of Episcopacy, Lay Patronages were taken away by Act of Parliament; and in case of a Vacancy in any Church, the Right of Presentation was settled in the Heritors of the said Church (being Protestants) and the ruling Elders. But that Method being found prejudicial to the Rights of Lay Patrons in disposing thereof; and for other Reasons assigned, the Parliament of *Great Britain* in the 10th Year of her late Majesty Queen *Anne* enacted that from and after the first Day of *May*, 1712, it shall and may be lawful for her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, and for every other Person or Persons who have Right to any Patronage or Patronages of any Church or Churches whatsoever (who have not made nor subscribed a formal Renunciation thereof under their Hands) to present a qualified Minister or Ministers to any Church or Churches whereof they are Patrons, which shall at any Time after the said first Day of *May* happen to be vacant, and the Presbytery of the respective Bounds is obliged to receive and admit the Minister so presented accordingly. Any Thing in any other Act to the contrary notwithstanding. Patronages of Churches were legally established in *Scotland* before the Reformation, and continued so for many Years after. Yea, this Law continued unrepealed to the Revolution. And tho' the Presbyterians began about the Year 1646, or 1647. amongst other illegal Usurpations to introduce that Cheat of popular Elections, yet this was not authorized nor Patronages abolished by the Act of any Parliament unless they'll call a Convention of Rebels by that Name, who had presumed to meet *Anno* 1649. without being called by any Authority except what they treasonably assumed to themselves: And 'tis evident from the Acts of King *Charles* the Second's first Parliament before

Episcopacy

approved a Character, we need not I think insist upon human Testimonies.

[This hints to us what the Part of those was whom the Bishop consulted upon the Point of Ordinations; viz. to bear Testimony to the Character of the Candidate: But the Authoritative Part in this and every other Instance flowed directly from the Bishop and was solely his.] And because the merit of *Aurelius* was so extraordinary, St. *Cyprian* acquaints his Clergy that contrary to his general Rule of consulting them he and his Collegues had ordained him. *Hunc igitur, fratres charissimi, a me & a Collegis qui*

Episcopacy was established 1661. viz. ix, xxxv, and liv. Sec. 1. That Patronages were still looked upon as subsisting by Law, notwithstanding the illegal Interruption which had been made by the pretended Parliament, 1649. And in the Act of Parliament, 1662, concerning such Benefices and Stipends as have been possessed without Presentations from the lawful Patrons, it is enacted, that all these Ministers who entred into the Cure of any Paroch in Burgh or Land within this Kingdom in or since the Year 1649, (at and before which Time the Patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of their Patronages) have no Right unto, nor shall receive nor possess the Rents of any Benefice; and their Places, Benefices, and Kirks, are, *ipso jure*, vacant: Yet his Majesty declares, that this Act shall not be prejudicial to any of these Ministers in what they have possessed and is due to them since their Admission: And that every such Minister, who shall obtain a Presentation from the lawful Patron, and have Collation from the Bishop of the Diocese where he liveth, betwixt and the 20th of *September* next to come, shall henceforth have right to, and enjoy his Church Benefice, &c. And the Patrons are thereby ordained to give Presentations to all the present Incumbents, who in due Time shall apply to them for the same. Many of these Ministers who had entred illegally after the Year 1649, turn'd obstinate, and refused to take the Benefit offered by the Act of Parliament at the Time prefix'd; and therefore the Privy Council meeting at *Glasgow* after the Time was expired, made an Act, declaring all such Churches, *ipso facto*, vacant. Whereupon those Ministers generally forbore the Exercise of their Ministry, and deserted their Flocks, without any Sentence of Depri- vation pronounced against them but the aforesaid Act of Council at *Glasgow*. Upon which they made so hideous an Outcry against that most merciful Government, as if they had suffered the most horrid Persecution. And if they had good Reason for such Complaints, let the World judge.

qui presentes aderant ordinatum sciatis. You are therefore my dear Brethren to understand, that I and my Collegues here with me have ordained this Person, viz. *Aurelius.*

In like manner he acquaints them, that *Celerinus* was ordained. *Exultate itaque & gaudete nobiscum lectis literis nostris quibus ego & Collega mei, qui presentes aderant, referimus ad vos Celerinum Fratrem nostrum virtutibus pariter & moribus gloriosum, Clero nostro non humanâ suffragatione sed divina dignatione conjunctum.* I hope you will take your Part with us in rejoicing when you read our Letter, wherein I and my Collegues who are here with me, lay this Matter before you and acquaint you that our Brother *Celerinus* who was before so eminent for his courageous and regular Behaviour is now admitted to the Order of the Clergy rather by divine than human Appointment.

[*Referimus ad vos.*] *Referre ad senatum* was when the Prince or Chief Magistrate laid any Thing before the Senate to have their Approbation, and to enact it thence into a Law. The Use of this Phrase, which as thus applied by St. *Cyprian* is metaphorical and borrowed, doth not infer that *Celerinus* was not legitimately nor authentically ordained till he had a Confirmation from the Clergy and People, but only that they in the ordinary course should have been made acquainted with it, and that now it was notified to them in Form, that they might receive and acknowledge him in that Character.

[*Virtutibus pariter & moribus gloriosum.*] The Word *Virtus*, when applied to Martyrs and Confessors, commonly signifies the Courage which enabled them to confess; and the Word *Mores*, when so applied, hath respect to their behaving within Rule and Discipline, which some of those Times were for relaxing.

The Case was the same with respect to *Numidicus*, whom St. *Cyprian* added to the List of the Carthaginian Presbyters, and acquainted his Presbyters and Deacons, and all his People with it. *Nam admonitos nos & instructos*
sciatis

sciatis dignatione divinâ, ut Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero, & nobiscum sedeat in Clero. Ep. 40. You are therefore to understand, that I have received Admonition and Directions from above, to add the Presbyter Numinicus to the Roll of our Carthaginian Presbyters, that he may thence be entitled to sit with me among the Clergy.

The Apostolical Canons are generally look'd upon as Abridgments of the several Rules and Orders which from Time to Time were occasionally prescribed for the Government of the Church, from its very Infancy down to that Period wherein they were first collected into a Body, which (in all likelihood) was done about the latter End of the second, or Beginning of the third (†) Century; so that wherever they speak clear to any Practice, they must be allowed as competent Witnesses and good Vouchers. Now the 29th Apostolical Canon runs thus: Εἰ τις χειροτονηθεὶς Ἐπίσκοπος μὴ καταδέκοιτο τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ τὴν φροντίδα τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν ἐνχειρισθεῖσα μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἀφορισμένον τυγχάνειν, ἕως ἂν καταδέκεται. Εἰ δὲ μὴ δεχθεῖν ἢ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ μοχθηρίαν αὐτὸς μὲν ἕως ἔτις Ἐπίσκοπος· ὁ δὲ κληρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀφορίζεσθαι ὅτι τοιοῦτος λαὸς ἀνυποτάκτους παιδεύεται ἢ ἐφ' ἐνόστο. ¶ If any one being ordained Bishop, do not

accept of the Office and Care of the People entrusted with him, let him be suspended from Communion till he do accept it. But if he go away and be not accepted by reason of the Perverseness of the People, let him remain Bishop, (u) but let the Clergy of the City be suspended

(†) Blondel Apolog. pro Hieronomi sententiâ, p. 157. says, that they were extant at least in the third Age, and the Author of them does seem to have reduced into that one Body the former Rules and Customs of the Apostolick Churches. That the Apostles themselves were Authors of these Canons, no Man in his Wits can so much as dream. But that they are very antient, and contain the Usages of the primitive Church in the second and third Centuries, has been demonstrated by so many and such convincing Arguments by the great Bishop Beveridge, that there is not the least Room left to doubt it.

(u) This by the way shews that something more is required to give

* suspended from Communion, because they have not
 * been Correctors of a refractory People.

This Canon supposes it was in the Breast of the Bishops and not of the People to supply a vacant See, by electing a new Bishop.

The Reasons why the Clergy were to be censured when the People were refractory were,

1. Because the People were in the primitive Times much at the Direction and Devotion of the Clergy, and therefore if they did not accept their Bishop, it was presumed the Clergy were the Occasion of it.

2. To suspend the Clergy from Communion was in effect to suspend the People too: For they could not communicate without Priests: and it has been always the Law of the Church to excommunicate the Multitude.

In the Council of *Ancyra* c. 18. mention is made of
 Ἐπίσκοποι κατασταθέντες καὶ μὴ δεχθέντες ὑποπαρομίαν. (x) of Bishops
 constituted over Dioceses that would not receive them,
 which manifestly implies that they were ordained without
 the Consent of those Diocesses. So that the Nomination
 of the Bishop was not in the People in this Age: For how
 can it be conceived that a Bishop should not be received by
 H the

give a Man a Right to that Office, than the People's consenting to hear him preach.

(x) Let not the Dissenters think to disprove Diocesan and settle Congregational Episcopacy by arguing from the modern Acceptation of the Word *παρομία*. Who does not know that Custom is the Mistress of Language, and that this very Word was by the Ancients understood in a larger Sense than it is now. For it formerly signified not the Places or Habitations near a Church but the Towns and Villages near a City, which together with the City was the Bishop's *παρομία*, or as we now call it, his Diocese, the Bounds of his ordinary Care and Jurisdiction. Instances of this Signification out of *Eusebius* and other primitive Writers may be read in *Bishop Downname's Def. of his Sermon*, Book 2. c. 1. p. 8. to p. 14. *Bishop Taylor's Episcopacy asserted*, p. 140, 241. *Nelson's Rights of the Clergy*, p. 439. *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, Vol. 2. p. 140. *M. Original Draught of the primitive Church*, p. 28. to 31. *Dr. Nichols's Com. on the Act of Uniformity*, *Mr. Lewis's Answer to the Rights &c.* p. 411.
 412.

the Parish that elected him? Where the People are said to concur, it seems to have been more for the sake of their Testimony concerning the Behaviour of those who were to be ordained, than their Consent was thought necessary on any other Occasion.

Can we not produce early Instances of the Ordination of Bishops wherein the People were no way concerned? Upon the Death of *James* the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as many of the Apostles and Disciples of the Lord (meaning the 70) as were then Living, and the Kindred of our Saviour met together to chuse *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas* and Kinsman of Christ into that Bishoprick, as we learn from *Eusebius*, l. 3. c. 11. When *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, retired out of the Way, the neighbouring Bishops appointed another in his stead named *Dios*, *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 9. One of those Bishops who had ordained *Novatus* at the Intercession of the People was admitted to Lay-Communion, but the Synod ordained two Bishops, and sent them to succeed in the room of the other two, l. 6. c. 42. circa med. In the Epistle of the Bishops met in Synod at *Antioch*, A. D. 270. We have these Words. *We rejected the sworn Enemy of God, i. e. Paulus Samosatenus, and placed Domnus in his Stead.* Here are no less than five Instances of Bishops ordained without the Election of the People. And I believe our Church *Democraticks* will be puzzled to produce near so many of Bishops ordained by the People without the Concurrence of the Bishops. There are in Antiquity divers Precedents of Bishops (y) who chose their own Successors, it will not be imagined the People will chuse a Bishop

(y) I have been credibly informed, that Dr. *Montgomery* (who was first Bishop of *Derry*, *Raphoe* and *Clogher*, but quitted *Derry* and *Raphoe* for *Clogher* and *Meath*) was allowed by K. *James* the First, to nominate his two Successors, viz. Dr. *James Usher* for *Meath*, and Dr. *Spotswood* for *Clogher*. Neither Church nor King had Reason to repent of the Choice. And the Memory of Bishop *Montgomery* is very precious among us, who together with Primate *Hampton* gave brave Opposition to the wicked Designs of the most potent Men in the Kingdom against the Church.

Bishop over his Head, and proclaim that they werewearry of him. In those Days they had more Piety. *Agelins* did so, he chose *Sicinius*, and that it may appear it was without the People, they came about him, and intreated him to chuse *Marcian*, to whom they had been beholding in the Time of *Valens* the Emperor, he complied with them, and appointed *Marcian* to be his Successor, and *Sisinus* whom he had first chosen to succeed *Marcian*. Thus did *Valerius* chuse his Successor St. *Austin*; for tho' the People named him for their Priest, and carried him to *Valerius* to take Orders, yet *Valerius* chose him Bishop. And this was usual, *ως κι αι αλλαι εκκλησιαι* (as *Epiphanius* expresses his Case) it was ordinary to do so in many Churches. Now will not these early Instances in a great measure silence the Advocates for popular Elections, especially when they read the Judgment of St. *Ferom* (2) (whom they often claim as their own) upon the Case, and the Remedy the Church took to prevent Inconveniencies likely to arise from them? Sometimes, says he, the Judgment of the common People is wrong, and in approving Bishops, every one favours his own Manners and seeks not so much for a good Bishop as for one like himself. The fourth Canon of the Council of *Nice* (a) seems to be

H 2

enacted

(2) Nonnunquam errat Plebis Vulgique judicium & in Sacerdotibus comprobandis unusquisque suis moribus paret, ut non tam bonum quam sui similem quærat Præpositum. Hier. adv. Jovian. p. 41. Tom. 2.

(a) *Balsamon* thinks, that the People's Claim of Right in Election is condemned by this Canon, for which Reason *Cabassutius* calls him *Pseudo Patriarcha & Graculus*: But by the Way, *Balsamon* understood Greek and Canons as well as *Cabassutius*: And tho' this Canon does not directly forbid popular Elections (that had been too bold a Stroke at once when they had got footing) yet it bears upon them by a Side Wind, and by advancing the Power of the Clergy therein endeavours to lessen the Power which the People had for some Time assumed. Bishop *Beveridge* makes this Annotation: *Jus electionis ad Episcopos presentes, testimonium autem consensus & electionis comprobatio ad plebem pertinuit. Plebs igitur Episcopis eligendum nonnunquam proponebant, sed Episcopi a plebe propositum non semper eligebant,*

enacted purposely to provide against popular Tumults, because there is not the least mention of the People in this Matter of Importance the Ordination of a Bishop.

For thus runs the Canon: Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθιστάσθαι : εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοῦτον ἢ διὰ κατε-
πιγύσσαν ἀναγκὴν ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ ἢ ἅπαντος τρεῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομέ-
νης συμπλήφωιν γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συντίθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων τότε
τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιῆσθαι : τὸ δὲ κύρος τῶν γινομένων δ.δ.όσθαι καθ' ἐκαστὴν
ἐπαρχίαν τῷ Μητροπολίτῃ.

A Bishop ought to be constituted
by all the Bishops that belong to the Province; but if
this be not practicable, three must by all means meet,
and when they have Consent of those that are absent
signified by Letter, then let them perform the Confe-
cration, and the Ratification (τὸ κύρος) of what is done
must be allowed to the Metropolitan. However this
Right of confirming (this τὸ κύρος) did not give the Metro-
politan a negative Vote in this or any other Matter, he
was only hereby constituted the Chairman or President
of the Assembly that declared the Determination of the
rest.

In the Council of *Laodicea* (b) there are two Canons
to the same Purpose, viz. Canon 12, 13. That Bishops
be

*bant, ac proinde totum electionis arbitrium penes Episcopos erat: usque
adeo ut multas legere est Episcopales ordinationes & electiones etiam cele-
bratas ab Episcopis sine plebe, a plebe autem sine Episcopis, nullas.*

(b) Περὶ τῆς τῆς ἐπισκόπου κρίσει τῶν Μητροπολιτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ ἐπί-
κόπων καθιστάσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντας ἐκ πολλῶν δεδομιμα-
μένους τῇ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῇ τῷ εὐθεῶς λόγῳ πολιτείᾳ. Zonaras's
Annotation on this Canon is: Populi suffragiis olim Episcopi eli-
gebantur, sed cum multæ inde seditiones existerent, hinc factum
est ut Episcoporum uniuscujusque provinciae autoritate eligi Epis-
copum quemque oportere, decreverint patres. And he adds, that
in the Election of *Damasus*, 137 Men were slain, and that 600 Ex-
amples more of that Nature were producible.

Περὶ τῆς μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιῆσθαι τῶν μελλόντων
καθιστάσθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον. Mr. Baxter tells us this Canon is thus tran-
slated by Crab, *Quod non sit permittendum turbis* (ὄχλοις in the Greek)
electiones eorum facere qui sunt ad sacerdotium provehendi. The English
is this: That it must not be allowed the Multitude to chuse into the Clergy.
Mr. Baxter translates it, *It is not sufferable to chuse by Tumults.* Which
is

be constituted by the Discretion of the Metropolitans and neighbouring Bishops. That the Multitude be not permitted to chuse them who are to be ordained to the Priesthood. And the most illustrious *Peter de Marca de Concord.* &c. l. 8. c. 6. n. 8. is of Opinion, that this Prohibition ought not to be extended to Persons of Honour and great Men, but was made only for the common People, for so he renders τοῖς ὄχλοις the Words of the Canon *Vili Plebecula*. Yet from this Canon we learn at least these following Particulars, that the greatest Disturbances were occasioned by the People's Authority in the Election of Bishops; insomuch, that the Council found it necessary utterly to abolish this corrupt and unjust Practice, and wholly to exclude the Multitude from all Consent, Testimony, and Approbation. From hence, it may with the greatest Perspicuity be collected, that the Multitude of the Faithful had not by divine Right either Suffrage or Testimony in the Election of Bishops: For, if this Power had belonged to the People by divine Right, it could never have been extinguished by a Synod, and that especially by a particular Synod. We are most clearly taught by this Canon, what was the Opinion of the Prelates of the fourth Century, concerning the licentious Power of the People.

But all this will be still farther confirmed by the Council of *Antioch* (c) whose eighteenth Canon runs thus: If any

is an admirable Decree for a Council, and an Argument of the great Skill and Honesty of the Translator. The Prohibition in this Canon extends to their Non-election of all the superior Clergy, Bishops and Presbyters. But who then must elect? The Council of *Nice* determines that; for in c. 16, 17 the Council forbids any Promotion of Clerks to be made but by the Bishop of that Church where they are first ordained. Which clearly reserves to the Bishop the Power of retaining or promoting all his Clergy.

(c) Εἰ τις χειροτονηθεὶς εἰς παροιμίαν μὴ ἀπέλθῃ εἰς ἕν' ἐχειροτονηθῇ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἢτοι διὰ τὴν τῆς λαοῦ παραίτησιν, ἢ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν ἢκ' ἐξ αὐτῆς γενομένην: τὸν μετέχειν τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας μόνον μηδὲν παρενοχλεῖν ταῖς πράγμασι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας
ἐνθα

any one that is ordained a Bishop, do not come to the Diocese for which he is chosen, not through his own Fault, but either because the People refuse him, or for any other Reason, occasioned by no Fault of his, he shall enjoy both the Honour and Function provided he give no Disturbance to the Affairs of the Church where he abides. And he shall wait for the Determination, which a full Synod of the Province shall make upon the Judgment of his Case.

What are we to think of this Canon? It makes little in my Opinion (says Mr. *Hughes*) (d) for the Power of the *Laicks*. Nay, it most evidently demonstrates, that the

ἐνθα ἂν συνάγοιτο. Ἐκδεχέσθαι δὲ τὸ τὸν ὁ ἀν' ἡ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τελείᾳ
ἐκκλησίας κρίνασα τὸ παριστάμενον ὁρίσθαι.

(d) Prelim. Diff. to St. *Chrysostom de Sacerdotio*. Mr. *Hughes*, of *Jesus's College in Cambridge*, hath taken that useful Piece *de Sacerdotio* out of St. *Chrysostom's Works*, and published it in a separate Volume; a Piece, which next to the sacred Pages themselves, and the Office of Ordination prescribed by our Church, is of the greatest Use to give us true Impressions of the Dignity and Duty of the Priesthood, and to warm us into Resolutions of acting in every Case as becomes our sacred Character. Bishop *Burnet*, in his *Pastoral Care*, says, St. *Chrysostom's Books of the Priesthood* have been ever reckoned among the best Pieces of Antiquity, and has given us an Abstract of them from p. 58 to 67, to which I refer the Reader. And the more to engage him to peruse that excellent Author, it will not be amiss to acquaint him with the Character St. *Chrysostom* bears among the judicious Moderns. St. *Chrysostom* is easy and pleasant to new Beginners, and has written with a Purity and Eloquence which have been the Admiration of all Ages. This wondrous Man in a great measure possesses all the Excellencies of the most valuable *Greek and Roman Classics*. He has the Invention, Copiousness, and Perspicuity of *Cicero*, and all the Elegance and Accuracy of Composition which is admired in *Isocrates*; with much greater Variety and Freedom. According as his Subject requires, he has the Easiness and Sweetness of *Xenophon*, and the pathetical Force and rapid Simplicity of *Demosthenes*. His Judgment is exquisite, his Images noble, his Morality sensible and beautiful. No Man understands human Nature to greater Perfection, nor has an happier Power of Persuasion. He is always clear and intelligible upon the loftiest and greatest Subject, and sublime and noble upon the least. *Blackwall's Introduction to the Classics*. p. 139.

the Church of the fourth Century did not so much as dream of this Right of the Laity, whether divine or original, or whatever other Title they are pleased to honour it with. The Council commands in express Words, that a Bishop duly ordained by the Bishops of the Province, and confirm'd by the Metropolitan according to the ancient Canons, ought to remain a Bishop, and perform the Episcopal Functions, though the Laity make never so much Opposition. This was the Method of the Elections of the fourth Century. But afterwards the Metropolitans obtained a much larger Power, not without a very great Advantage to the Church. They appointed a Synod of Bishops in their own Churches: Hither they summon'd the Bishops; and by their own common Counsel set Pastors over the Churches. To this Purpose is that of *Gregory Nazianzen*. (e) *Ye have called me to the Metropolis, I suppose, to take some Consultations about a Bishop.* Hitherto also, the People had Power to propose a Person to be ordain'd, and to desire the Bishops to set him over them. But the Nomination and Election belonged only to the Metropolitan in Council with his Provincial Bishops. Nay, without the Metropolitan's Leave, they had not Power to take to themselves so much as a vacant Bishop (as the Canonists speak.) This we are most plainly taught by the 16th. Canon of the Council of *Antioch* (f) in these Words: If any vacant Bishop shall come into a vacant Church, and by Stealth invade the Throne without

(e) *Greg. Naz. Ep. 23.* Κεκλήματε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν Μητροπόλιν, ὥς ἡμῶν, περὶ ἐπισκόπου τι βουλευσόμενοι.

(f) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος χολαζών (that is, a Bishop which has no Diocese of his own, as *Balsamon* explains it) ἐπὶ χολαζέσων ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ῥῆψας ὑφάρπαξει τὸν θρόνον δι' ἧα συνίδη τελείας: τὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ εἰ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ἐν ὑφάρπαξεν, εἴητο αὐτόν. Τελείαν δὲ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι σύνδοτον, ἢ συμπάρεσι καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης. 'Tis very clear from this Canon, that the People had very little Share in electing Bishops in this Age; when they could nor do so much as take one that was already ordained, but by some Accident was thrown out of his See without the Approbation of the Synod.

out the leave of a full Synod; he ought to be ejected, though all the People whom he has invaded, have chosen him for their Bishop. Now, that is called a full Synod in which the Metropolitan Bishop is also present. And this very Canon is quoted by the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* (g) in the Eleventh Session in which the Cause of *Bassianus* is pleaded.

This

(g) Legantur, magnæ Chalcedonensis Synodi Sessione xi. Stephani * & Bassiani ad Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ Episcopatum popularibus factionibus, diverso tempore evectorum, accusationes mutuæ, unde constabit quanta fuerit in istis electionibus corruptio: quam nihil æquum, nihil honestum, nihil denique Christianis hominibus dignum, sed omnia iniqua, turpia, sæda, barbara. Istis gemina occurrunt apud Socratem, l. 2. c. 24. apud Gregorium Nazianzenum in Epitaph. patr. & alios passim: quæ singula referre nimis prolixum foret. Iraque ut ea popularium electionum vitarentur incommoda, promiscuæ plebi Episcoporum eligendorum jus ademptum est, & paucis quibusdam uniutujusque civitatis viris primarijs cum clero, varijs limitibus circumscriptum, concessum est. Sed illis quoque jure eodem abutentibus, ad unum clerum multis in locis electio delata est. Verum clericis etiam studijs indulgentibus, nec unum Ecclesiæ commodum quod oportuit spectantibus Episcoporum electiones tandem ad principes d. voluæ sunt. Nostro & avorum tempore ea potestate usi sunt principes & magistratus pij ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ, cum orthodoxos Episcopos & alios pastores ditionum suarum Ecclesijs præposuerunt, quorum opera facta est religionis emendatio. Et docuit experientia errores sæpe non alia ratione posse evelli, aut schismata caveri, aut etiam reipublicæ paci consuli, cum electiones factæ a clero, factionibus a plebe, seditionibus semper pateant; & utrisque sæpius ad vulnera & mutuas cædes devenum est nec me latet apud principes &

* *Stephanus*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, in Justification of himself, saith, Ἐμὲ τεκαράκοντα Ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφω καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων καὶ τῶν λογάδων καὶ τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων πάντος κλήρου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἐχειροτόνησαν. *Con. Chalc. Act. 11. p. 404.* Me forty Bishops of *Asia*, by the Suffrage of the most noble and substantial Citizens, and of all the most Reverend Clergy, and of all the rest of the whole City, did ordain.

And his Competitor *Bassianus*, Ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἀνδρονίχων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἔφερον ὁ λαὸς καὶ ὁ κλήρος καὶ οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι. Me with great Constraint and Violence the People, and the Bishops, and the Clergy did instal. *Ibid.*

This plainly implies, that in all such Cases no Regard was had to the Choice of the People, when they pretended to act without the Concurrence of a Provincial Synod. For the full Power in Elections remained in the Metropolitans to the Time of the Emperor *Justinian*, so that they elected Bishops without the Consent or Testimony of the People. We read in the Emperor *Justinian's* Laws, that the inferior Sort of the common People were wholly cut off from having any Concern in the Election of Bishops, which were now confined to the Clergy and the Optimates or Persons of better Rank and Quality in every Church. For so by two (*b*) of his Novels it is expressly provided, that when a Bishop is to be ordained, for any City, the Clergy and chief Men of the City shall meet and nominate three Persons drawing up an Instrument and inserting therein upon Oath, that they chose them neither for any Gift or Promise, nor Friendship, nor any other Cause, but because they know them to be of the Catholick Faith, and of honest Life and good Learning, that out of these three, one that is best qualified may be chosen by the Dis-

I cretion

& magistratus in pastorum electionibus & gratiæ & avaritiæ sordibus locum esse posse; posseque adeo ab illis minus dignos dignioribus præferri, & quod pejus est, prorsus indignos eligi; ut recte inferas nullam electionis speciem ab incommodis & abusibus esse immunem. Optima illa est quæ minimis urgetur, cujusmodi videtur quæ per magistratum fieri solet, modo cleri consilium exquiratur, & plebis exceptiones, si quas justas habeat, audiantur. Itaque non vociferandum adversus patriæ leges & Ecclesiæ politiam, sed pro more uniuscujusque loci pacifice, ut Christianos decet vivendum; & Deus interim orandus ut electionibus illis ubique præsit, & idoneos mittat in messiem suam operarios. *Vide Sancta Eccl. Angl. Vind.*

6. 31. p. 408, 409, 414, 415. *Autore Joanne Durello, &c.*

(*b*) Sancimus quoties opus fuerit Episcopum ordinari, clericos & primatus civitatis cui Episcopus ordinandus est, mox in tribus personis decreta facere, propositis sacro-sanctis evangelij periculo suarum animarum, dicentes in ipsis decretis quia neque propter aliquam donationem, neque propter aliquam promissionem, aut amicitiam, aut etiam quamlibet causam, sed scientes eos rectæ & catholice fidei, & honestæ esse vitæ, & literas nôsse, hos elegerunt: Us ex tribus illis personis melior ordinetur electione & judicio ordinantis. *Novel. 123. c. 1. See also Novel. 137. c. 2. & Cod. l. 1. Tit. 3. de Episc. Leg. 42.*

cretion and Judgment of the Ordainer. This Matter has been excellently handled by Dr. *Nichols*, (i) who shews, that the People had a testimonial Right in the Election of Bishops, that this improved into a prescriptive Right, which was restrained by the Canons: That popular Elections sunk by the Scandal (k) which they gave, that the

(i) See his Notes on the Form of Ord. or Conf. an Archbishop or Bishop.

(k) The Church of God hath doleful Experience of the Tumults which arise from popular Elections. *Evag. l. 7. c. 5.* declareth what Uproars were at *Alexandria* about *Proterius*, when the People beat the Soldiers into the Church, and destroyed a Number of them with Fire; yea they slew *Proterius* in the Temple upon *Easter-day*, drew his Body along the City, hewed it in a most miserable manner, burned that which was left, and scattered his Ashes in the Wind. And that the *Roman* Elections in that Time were come into that Course, we may see by the Relation and Reflections of an honest Pagan Historian concerning the Election of Pope *Damasus*. *Damasus* (saith he*) and *Ursicinus* above human measure burning with Desire to snatch the Episcopal See, did with divided Parties most fiercely conflict; in which Conflict upon one Day in the very Church 137 Persons were slain; so did that great Pope get into the Chair; thus (as the Historian reflecteth) the Wealth and Pomp of the Place naturally did provoke Ambition by all means to seek it, and did cause fierce Contentions to arise in the Choice; whence commonly wise and modest Persons being excluded from any Capacity

* *Damasus & Ursicinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendum episcopalem sedem ardentem scissis stuciis acerrimè conflictabantur adusque mortis vulnerumque discrimina: quæ præfectus urbis nec corrigere nec mollire sufficiens, vi magna coactus secessit in suburbanum; constatque in Basilica, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremprorum: efferatamque diu plebem, ægre postea delinitam. Am. Mar. l. 7. Quæ his verbis a Ruffino, Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 10. confirmantur: Tanta seditio, imo tanta bella coorta sunt, inquit, alterutrum defendentibus populis, ut orationum loca humano sanguine replerentur. Non minus horrendum in Alexandrinâ Ecclesiâ popularis electionis eventum narrat Evagrius, nempe milites, qui magistratus iustu populi ferociam, alijs Dioscorum alijs Proterium poscentibus, reprimere conabantur, in templo, quo confugerant vivos igne crematos, & tandem alio electo, Proterium cum sex alijs in templo ipso die salutaris Paschatis peremptum.*

the Emperors of *Rome* nominated Bishops, and that even the Pope himself was nominated by *Gothick* Kings, that the same Priviledge was enjoyed by the Kings of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*. To him therefore, for further Satisfaction I refer the Reader.

It is now time to consider what our Adversaries alledge in point of Antiquity.

The Author of the *(1) Rights, &c.* c. 4. p. 165.—169. hints at the great Remains of the Primitive Demo-

I 2

cratical

cratical
capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning Man, who had the Art or the Luck to please the Multitude, would by Violence obtain it: Which was a goodly way of constituting a Sovereign to the Church.

(1) Hear Dr. *Trimnel's* (late Bishop of *Winchester*) Character of this Book, in a Charge to his Clergy when Bishop of *Norwich*, at the Visitation of that Diocese in the Year 1709.

‘ Among the Books that have of late been written this Way, tho’ the last Age produced several of the same pernicious Design, that which under the Title of the *Rights of the Church* destroys even the Name and Notion of it, deserves to be mention’d with the utmost Abhorrence. For all the Rights which that loose Author asserts, are the Rights of every individual Person to chuse whether he will live in any Church Communion or no, owning neither any internal Obligation upon the People from the Laws of the Gospel, nor any outward from the Command of the Magistrate, to unite and assemble themselves for the Worship of God, and of Christ, in any other manner or any longer than they themselves please. As tender as he seems to be of the Authority of the Magistrate, and as much Power as he gives him over the Ministers of the Gospel, to humble that Order which stands in his Way, he allows him none over the People upon the Account of Religion, but they are left to do what seemeth them good in their own Eyes. All People must indeed in these Matters judge for themselves as well as they can, But then there is a Rule given them to judge by, for the Neglect of which they must hereafter give an Account. And to this Rule I do not find that this Writer has any Regard: So that it may without Injury be imputed to him, that the Liberty he contends for is that of being discharged from the Duty of observing any external Rule or Order at all.

‘ The few Things that are true in his Book, taken for the most part from those Divines he is pleased to despise, are mixed with so many Things that are false, and have so wrong a Turn given them for the Support of a Scheme that cannot fairly be grounded upon them,

cratical Form, even in the third Century; and to that End quotes the famous *Cyprian*, who flourished in the middle of it, the rather because he says, *Ep. 73. 'Tis a dangerous Thing for any in divine Matters to recede from his full Power and Authority.* And therefore, it cannot be presumed, had he thought the Government of the Church by divine Right belonged to the Clergy, but he would have forbid the Laity from sacrilegiously meddling with it. But he good Man on the contrary declares, that he was resolv'd to do nothing by his own private Judgment without the Consent of the People of his District, and that all Affairs, as their mutual Honour required, should be debated in common. And accordingly he professes himself not sufficient to judge of the Misdemeanors of two Sub-deacons and an Acolyth, but says they, ought to be tried by all the People. So he declares the Schism of *Felicissimus*, was to be judg'd according to the Arbitriment and common Counsel of the People; and that the laps'd were not to be absolv'd, tho' in a Time of Persecution, till Peace was restored to the Church, that they might plead their Cause before all the People. So he affirms, that whosoever was excommunicated, it was by the Suffrages of the People. And as *Pontius* his Deacon says, that he was made Bishop by the Grace of God, and the Favour of the People: So he himself in several Epistles acknowledges he owes his Advancement to them, and not only declares that in all Ordinations he acted by their

• them, and the whole is written in a Stile so rude and unferious,
 • and so little fitted to correct Mistakes in such a Subject as he takes
 • upon him to handle, that I think no Charity will forbid one to say,
 • that the Design of the Author was apparently wicked, levell'd
 • against the Christian Religion, and not at all fram'd to promote
 • any thing that was honest and good.' Thus far Bishop *Trimnel*.

To give you the main of this Book in one Word; it is this: That the Church has no Authority but from the State, and the State but from the People. This is the whole Scope and Drift of this Book, which if it could be proved, would indeed effectually overthrow all Church Religion whatsoever; since it is impossible these could be true, if they had no deeper a Foundation than what the People could give them.

their common Counsel, but makes it a general Practice, and of Apostolick Observation, and divine Institution for the Bishop to be chosen for the Suffrages of the People, to which, he adds the Judgment and Advice of the neighbouring Bishops. Not that we can suppose he thought they had an equal Authority with the People in this Matter, because that would be inconsistent with what both he and these Bishops had declared in their Synodical Epistle before quoted, that, *Plebs maxime habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi*. And 'twas not in Matters of the greatest Moment, but in all others that the People were concerned: as for Instance, a Letter could not be sent to a foreign Church before the Brotherhood agreed to it, nor one received before it was read to them all; whom he treats with the highest Respect, as may be seen by the Titles he bestows on them, as that 'tis against the faithful and uncorrupted Majesty of the People, for any who are without to judge of their Bishops. And as he gives no less Epithet to the Votes of the People in Excommunication than Divine, so he terms their Persons most holy. And indeed nothing was more common than to bestow the highest Title, such as the Pope and other great Church-Dons now reserve to themselves, on the People: and the higher you go, the greater Veneration will you find paid them. St. *Ignatius* tells *Poly-carp*, that he was not personally to know his own Flock, but to carry himself with all Humility to serving Men and Maids. And the divine *Clemens Romanus*, professes so high a Respect for the People, that he wou'd have every one say, that to avoid all Contest on his Account he was ready to depart, and go wherever the People and to do whatever they shall enjoin him. And where he blames 'em, 'tis not for assuming a Power not belonging to 'em, but for making a wrong Use of it, in turning out such Bishops as they themselves had chosen, and who served the Flock of Christ with all Humility, &c. The most ancient Fathers acknowledge, that they owe all unto, and receive all from the Church or People.

Hence

Hence *Tertullian* takes it, in building Arguments on it, for a received and unquestionable Truth, that the Distinction of Laity and Clergy was owing to the Church; that otherwise Laymen might exercise the priestly Office, Christ having made us all Priests to God, and that where three are gathered together in Christ's Name, there's a Church tho' three Laymen; it being the Will of God, that at all Times we should be capable of the Sacraments, and 'tis plain from this Father, that the Heterodox not only allow'd Lay-men to be capable of exercising Ecclesiastical Functions but enjoined them so to do: and therefore, as to the Capacity of the Laity for these Functions, the whole Christian World was agreed, tho' the Heterodox were more on their Guard against Priestcraft; since to prevent it, they had a Sort of Rotation of Ecclesiastical Offices: for *Tertullian* says, 'With them, one to-day is a Bishop, to-morrow another, a Deacon this Day becomes a Reader the next; a Presbyter to Day is To-morrow a Layman;' but had there been at first so great a Distinction between the Clergy and the Laity as obtain'd afterwards, there can be no Doubt, seeing they have every where grown on the Laity, but they would have been able to hinder them from usurping on their divine Rights. And therefore, whatever Privileges or Powers they enjoyed, especially so early as this, we may justly conclude they had from the beginning of Christianity.— And again, c. 9. p. 359. Of the Truth of this (*i. e.* That the People made their own Church Officers) *Clemens Romanus*, a Cotemporary, if not Companion to the Apostles is a Witness: And Pope *Anacletus* who lived not long after, affirms this Right to belong to the spiritual People, and good Priests. And there's no Instance in the first three Centuries, of any one being made a Bishop except by the Election of the whole Church.

To each Particular here asserted, I shall give a distinct Answer.

First then, St. *Cyprian's* Words are: *Ep. 73. Quam periculosum sit autem in divinis rebus ut quis cedat suo jure*

jure & potestate. ‘ How dangerous is it to depart from
 ‘ ones Right in Cases of a spiritual Nature:’ St. *Cyprian*
 is in this Place answering an Objection made by some a-
 gainst the baptizing of those who were baptized by Here-
 ticks, which is to this Effect, ‘ that having been first bap-
 ‘ tized by them, ’twould be a Re-baptization to be bap-
 ‘ tized by the Orthodox.’ In answer to this, St. *Cy-
 prian* (*m*) observes, ‘ If an Heretick stands entitled to
 ‘ the Right of baptizing meerly from his seizing it, the
 ‘ Consequence will be that, Baptism will not be judged
 ‘ belonging to such as are in Possession (*n*) of it, but to
 ‘ such as first can catch it. And thus, since Baptism can-
 ‘ not be separated nor divided from the Church, he who
 ‘ first can seize upon her Baptism, will be thought to have
 ‘ gotten Possession of the Church with it; and then
 ‘ what can hinder you from appearing the Heretick, when
 ‘ he is beforehand with you and hath distanced you?
 ‘ Who by yielding up this great Point to him, have aban-
 ‘ doned and left behind to him the Right to which you
 ‘ stood once entitled. But now, how dangerous is it to
 ‘ depart from one’s Right in Cases of a spiritual Nature,
 ‘ the holy Scripture hath declared in the Book of *Genesis*,
 ‘ c. 25. 33. where *Esau* is represented as losing his Birth-
 ‘ right, without being able to recover it, because he had
 ‘ quitted

(*m*) Quod si idcirco hæreticus jus baptismi obtinere potuit, quia prior baptizavit, non possidentis erit jam baptismus sed occupantis: & cum separari a se & dividi omnino non possint baptismus & Ecclesia; qui occupare baptismum prior potuit, & Ecclesiam pariter occupavit: & incipis tu illi hæreticus videri, qui præventus posterior esse cæpisti: qui cedendo & manus dando jus quod acceperas reliquisti. Quam periculosum sit autem in divinis rebus ut quis cedat jure suo & potestate; Scriptura sancta declarat, cum in Genesi Esau primatus suos inde perdiderit, nec recipere id post modum potuerit quod semel cessit, *Cyp. Ep. 73.*

(*n*) This the Church confessedly was, and Hereticks took it from her: But if their unlawful Seizure carried Right along with it, then, as our Author argues, he who first could catch it, would be judged entitled to that Right. This he chargeth upon his Adversaries as an Absurdity flowing from their Opinions.

‘quitted claim to it.’ This is a true Account of St. Cyprian’s Words; and I would fain know how this Passage proves a Democracy in the Church.

The second Passage quoted from St. Cyprian is in his 14th Epistle, and runs thus: *Ad id vero quod scripserunt mihi Com-presbyteri nostri Donatus & Fortunatus, solus rescribere nihil potui; quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro & sine consensu plebis (o) meâ privatim sententiâ gerere.* ‘I have determined
‘with

(o) Nihil sine consilio vestro & consensu plebis.] Rigaltius ait; Hoc est cum totâ Ecclesiâ, sicut Apostoli fecerant prima illa Synodo quæ describitur in Act. 15. 22. Tunc placuit Apostolis & Senioribus cum omni Ecclesiâ. Ἐδοξε τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ad eum vero locum præclare Chrysostomus: ὡςτε δεῖξαι ὅτι ἡ τυραννικῶς, ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα δοκεῖ. Et paulo post; ὡς τὸς ἡδελφούς τύφους ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Sic ipsimet Romani infra Ep. 3. Collocatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus pariter ac stantibus Laicis. Supra monuimus fatigasse Cyprianum invidiam amoliri: hic vero dicit se nihil quod ad disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ rationes spectat inconsulta plebe statuere. Etenim cum exterior effectus potestatis clavium in hoc fere versabatur, ut plebs censuræ subjectos pro Ethnicis & Publicanis haberet, certe non erat expectandum ut amicos necessarios, fratres excommunicationis fulmine percussos, desererent universi; aut alios quos ejecerant, denuo admitterent, donec de eorum criminibus, aut poenitentia, ipsis fuerit satisfactum. Porro hic observandum, in lapsorum causa non ex receptis in Ecclesia moribus, sed cum lenitate eo usque inaudita actum; & proinde magis ere erat, ut innovati moris ratio redderetur. ‘For (as the excellent Bishop Fell observes) ‘since the outward Effect of the Power of the Keys almost wholly ‘consisted in this, that the People should reckon those under Censure as Heathens and Publicans, it is not to be expected that all ‘should desert their Friends, Acquaintance and Brethren that were ‘struck with the Thunderbolt of Excommunication; or should admit any who had been cast out, without being satisfied of their ‘Crimes and of their Repentance.’ So that for this Reason the Laity in the primitive Church were first consulted about the Fact that any Christian was accused of. The guilty Person pleaded in their Presence, they judged of the Matter of Fact, as do our Juries in criminal Causes, and by their Suffrage they consented to his Condemnation. But then neither they nor the inferior Clergy could pass the Sentence of Excommunication without the Bishop, no more than our Juries can condemn a Man tho’ they bring him in
guilty

‘ with myself to return no final Answer, by my own
 ‘ single Authority, to the Case upon which *Donatus*,
 ‘ *Fortunatus*, *Novatus*, and *Gordius*, my Brethren Pres-
 ‘ byters have written to me ; as having always resolved,
 ‘ from my first Entrance upon the Episcopal Chair, to
 ‘ transact no Matters of Moment upon the Foot of my
 ‘ own Authority only, without taking along with it
 ‘ your Advice and the Approbation of my People.’ This
 was indeed a Rule for the holy Man to act by, but all the
 Authority in it taken upon himself alone. So the learned
Grotius de Imper. Sum. Potest. &c. c. 11. sect. 14. expres-
 sly declared it to be when he was speaking in favour of the
 Presbyters and Presbytery of the Church, for quoting
 this Passage of *St. Cyprian*, the Word [*Statuerim*] says
 he, signifies a voluntary Act of his own ; and I presume
 the most partial Reader finds no more of any legal Oblig-
 ation in it than that discerning Critick did.

K

But

guilty. So too the People consented to the Readmission of the ex-
 communicated Person into Favour, and to the Communion of the
 Church, but then his actual Admission was performed by the
 Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop and Clergy, the Power of
 the Keys being given to them by Christ, as *St. Cyprian* observes.
 And this serves to let us into the Meaning of the Apostle, *2 Cor. 2.*
6. when he styles this Punishment *inflicted of many*, and exhorts the
Corinthians to forgive and comfort such as have been excommuni-
 cated. *Ἰκανὸν τῷ ποιεῖν τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν αὕτη ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων.* *Sufficient*
to such a Man is this Punishment which was inflicted of many. If by
 the *many* be understood the *People*, they inflicted the Punishment by
 refraining all Society with that incestuous Person ; and perhaps by
 being present when the Elders denounced the Apostle’s Sentence ; and
 so in that Sense this might justly be called *ἐπιτιμία ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων*,
the Censure of many ; for the Congregation being present agreed to
 what was done, and so concurred in that Sentence and Punishment,
 which as far as it related to the driving the Offender from the
 Lord’s Table was given by none but the Elders of the Church. And
 this is most agreeable to *Eraſmus’s* Interpretation. ‘ *Nec tamen*
 ‘ *multitudo eum excommunicabant, nisi approbando & suffragan-*
 ‘ *do & excommunicatum vitando, sed illi qui Ecclesiæ præerant,*
 ‘ *vel certe aliqui eorum, ex judicio tamen & jussu Pauli prævio.*
 And really the Words *ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων* may be rendred the *Great*
Ones, or *those in Authority* ; for so the Word signifies, *Matth. 12.*
41, 42.

But Secondly, tho' all Church Authority was properly and originally vested in the Bishop; yet in the Affair of Communion, wherein all were interested, as being obliged to avoid the Person censured, and as being moreover personally aggrieved by the Scandal of his Sin; some Regard was had to their Sentiments, as they were more or less favourable to the offending Party. *St. Cyprian* besides, had particular Reasons for communicating this Matter to his Brethren, and for not taking the whole Weight of it singly upon himself. He was ordained a Bishop somewhat out of Course. (p) He now fled from the Persecution which he had much ado to excuse to those that staid behind. The Martyrs and Confessors who solicited the speedy Restoration of the lapsed were at that Time very Popular; and directly, or singly to have opposed their Pretensions might have been of ill Consequence. So that upon the Concurrence of all these Reasons, what *St. Cyprian* resolved in regard to his Promotion out of Course, he determined to abide by in this particular Instance upon farther Reasons; which yet were prudential and

(p) A. D. 247. *Philip* 3--4. the renowned *Cyprian* was made Presbyter in *Carthage*, wherein he so admirably behaved himself, that the Year following he was quickly summoned to the highest Order and Honour in the Church. *Donatus*, his immediate Predecessor in the See of *Carthage* (as his own Words, Ep. 55. p. 82. seem to imply) being dead, the general Vogue both of Clergy and People (*Felicissimus* the Presbyter and some very few of his Party only dissenting) was for *Cyprian* to succeed him. But the great Modesty and Humility of the Man made him fly from the first Approaches of the News; he thought himself unfit for so weighty and honourable Employment, and therefore desired that a more worthy Person, and some of his Seniors in the Faith, might possess the Place. He declining it did but set so much the keener an Edge upon the Desires and Expectations of the People; his Doors were immediately crouded, and all Passages of Escape blocked up; he would indeed have fled out of the Window, but finding it in vain, he unwillingly yielded; the People in the mean while impatiently waiting, divided between Hope and Fear, till seeing him come forth, they received him with an universal Joy and Satisfaction. See *Dr. Cave's Life of St. Cyprian*, p. 256.

and discretionary, rather than from the Nature of the Thing in general, necessary or indispensable. For, as to the Bishops sole original Power when he had a Mind to exercise it in Matters of Discipline, and even in this Particular, the Reader may be pleased to see what is written in c. 2. p. 2. of the penitential Discipline of the primitive Church for the first 400 Years after Christ, together, with it's Declension from the fifth Century downwards to it's present State impartially represented, where the Author Mr. *Marshal* has proved the Bishop's sole Right when he had a mind to insist on it.

The 3d. Passage quoted from St. *Cyprian*, is, *Ep. 34. Desiderastis quoque ut de Philumeno & Fortunato Hypodiaconis & Favorino Acolutho qui medio tempore recesserunt, & nunc venerunt quid mihi videatur rescribam. Cui rei non potui me solum judicem dare, cum multi adhuc de clero absentes sint, nec locum suum vel sero repetendum putaverunt, & hac singulorum tractanda sit, & limanda plenius ratio non tantum cum Collegis meis, sed & cum Plebe ipsa Universa: Expensâ enim moderatione libranda & pronuncianda res est quæ in posterum circa Ministros Ecclesiæ constituat exemplum.*

‘ You have likewise desired my Opinion upon the Case
 ‘ of the Sub-Deacons (q) *Philumenus* and *Fortunatus* and
 ‘ the Waiter *Favorinus* (r) who quitted their Posts and
 ‘ retired in the middle of the Persecution, and are now
 ‘ returned to their respective Charges: Now this is a Case
 ‘ which I can by no Means undertake to determine singly;
 ‘ since very many of our Clergy have thus absented
 ‘ themselves, and have not even yet tho’ so late resumed
 ‘ their Trusts, and the particular Cases which you mention
 ‘ should have I think a more distinct Consideration
 ‘ which is to be a Precedent for the future, and in which
 ‘ the Ministers of the Church are so nearly concerned,

K 2

‘ should

(q) Concerning this Office, see *Bingham's Antiq. Vol. 2. Book 3. c. 2.*

(r) *Ibid. c. 3.*

‘ should be maturely (f) considered before it be finally determined.’ What more now does this prove, than that in the primitive Church what related to the whole Body, was usually done with the Consent and Knowledge of the People? But notwithstanding this, the Power and Government was vested in the Bishop.

The 4th. Passage quoted from St. Cyprian is, *Ep. 43. Persecutionis istius novissima hac est & extrema tentatio, qua & ipsa cito Domino protegente transibit, ut repraesentet vobis post Paschæ diem cum Collegis meis quibus presentibus secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum & omnium nostrorum commune consilium, sicut semel placuit, ea quæ agenda sunt, disponere pariter & limare poterimus.*

‘ This is the last Effort of the Persecution against us, it will take it’s Leave of us, and even this itself thro’ the Mercy of our Lord will soon be over, so that I shall be able to come amongst you soon after *Easter* with my Collegues, (t) in whose Presence we shall be able to settle every Thing which yet remains to be adjusted, to all your Satisfactions in a Common Council.

The 5th. Passage quoted from St. Cyprian is, *Ep. 16. Interim temerarij & incauti & tumidi quidam inter vos, qui hominem non cogitent vel Deum timeant; scientes quoniam si ultra in iisdem perseveraverint, utar ea Admonitione qua me uti Dominus jubet; ut interim prohibeantur offerre, acturi & apud nos, & apud Confessores ipsos, & apud Plebem uni-*

(f) St. Cyprian was himself a little concerned in this Case, as having retir’d from his Charge; so he would not determine in a Case so like his own, when he referred others, in which he might be supposed less partial, to the Judgment of his Clergy and People in Conjunction with himself. Yet after all his Circumstances were not perfectly the same; for beside the Revelation he had for retiring, he was (as the 8th Epistle calls him) a distinguished Person, and thence the more likely to enflame the Rage of the Persecution, as well as to encrease his own personal Danger.

(t) *Viz.* in the provincial Council, which was customarily held at that Time of the Year.

*universam causam suam, cum Domino permittente in sinum
Matris Ecclesie colligi caperimus.*

The Purport of this Epistle, is to shew that the lapsed (u) were not to be absolved, tho' in a Time of Persecution till Peace was restored to the Church, that they might plead their Cause before all the People. St. Cyprian's Words are, ' In the mean Time, as to those rash, ' incautious and proud Persons that are among you, who ' neither fear God, nor regard Man, they ought to know, ' that if they continue in their ill Courses, I shall make ' use of that Admonition which the Lord commands me ' to use, and that in the mean while they are forbidden ' to offer (x) and required to plead their Cause before us, ' and the Confessors themselves and all the People, when ' God permitting we shall begin to be gathered into the ' Bosom of Mother Church.

The 6th. Passage quoted from St. Cyprian is, Ep. 43. *De Dei providentiâ, nobis nec volentibus, nec optantibus, imo & ignoscentibus & tacentibus, pœnas quas meruerant rependerunt ut a nobis non ejecti ultra se ejicerent, ipsi in se pro conscientia suâ sententiam darent, secundum vestra Divina*

(u) St. Cyprian's greatest Concern was for the Case of the Lapsed, whom *Felicissimus* and some few Presbyters, Opposers of Cyprian's Election, without the Knowledge and Consent of their Bishop, had rashly admitted to the Communion of the Church upon very easy Terms. Cyprian, a strict Asserter of Ecclesiastical Discipline and the Rights of his Place, was highly offended, and not only by several Letters complained of it, but endeavoured to reform it, not sparing the Martyrs themselves, who presuming upon their great Merit in the Cause of Religion, took upon them to give Libels of Peace to the Lapsed, whereby they were again taken into Communion sooner than the Rules of the Church did allow. *Echard's General Eccl. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 597.*

(x) *Prohibeantur offerre.*] This was what we called *suspending* them; and this the Reader will observe was done by the sole Authority of the Bishop, without any Assessors with him in this Sentence. And he asserts expressly this Authority to Bishops in his third Epistle, where he tells *Rogatianus*, that he might have used his own Authority against his contemptuous Deacon, and exerted against him the full Strength and Vigour of his Episcopal Jurisdiction.

vina suffragia; conjurati & scelerati de Ecclesiâ sponte se pellerent.

The Purport of this Epistle wrote by St. *Cyprian* in his Retirement to his People, was to warn them of the five Presbyters, viz. *Fortunatus, Jovinus, Maximus, Donatus & Gordius*, who opposed his Election to his Bishoprick, and continued their Persecutions of him upon the Case of the lapsed, and indeed upon all Occasions wherein they could, and therefore he desires they may excuse his coming amongst them till he could see what Turn that Affair would take. He makes an Apology for visiting them by Letter, (y) whilst he was restrained from doing it in Person, ' since the malicious Contrivances of certain Presbyters have prevented my coming amongst you before ' *Easter*, who have not yet, it seems, forgot their former Conspiracy against me, but retain their old Grudge ' against my Episcopate and your Election of me to it, ' and the Approbation of God who confirmed your ' Choice, and accordingly they now renew their Opposition to me, and resume their sacrilegious Designs with ' their usual Craft. Indeed it hath fallen out very providentially, tho' I neither wished nor desired it, nay, tho' ' I resolved to put up and pardon all their Attempts against ' me, that the Punishment hath now overtaken them that ' they so well deserved, that they have cast themselves out ' of the Church without my doing it, that their own ' Consciences have pronounced against them the Sentence ' which wou'd otherwise have been doom'd to them by ' your unerring Vote, (z) and in short that these wicked ' Con-

(y) Tamen ego quantum possum admoneo, & quo modo possum visito vos literis meis. Literis, inquam, fratres charissimi. Hoc enim quorundam presbyterorum malignitas & perfidia perfecit, ne ad vos ante diem Paschæ venire licuisset: dum conjurationis suæ memores, & antiqua illa contra episcopatum meum, imo contra suffragium vestrum & Dei judicium venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem suam, & sacrilegas machinationes insidijs solitis denuo revocant.

(z) Your unerring Vote.] *Secundum vestra divina suffragia.* St. *Cyprian's*

‘Conspirators had voluntarily thrown themselves out of the Church.’ What can be plainer here than this? that neither St. *Cyprian* nor his Clergy, nor his People had any Hand in this extraordinary Excommunication. ’Twas the Schismatics own Act and Deed by a voluntary Separation, and nothing more in it. But what mean those Words of the holy Bishop (you’ll say then) according to your divine Suffrages? They plainly mean what this Word Suffrage (a) does almost always signify in this holy Father’s

prian’s Deputies had so managed with the People of *Carthage*, that divers of these factious Persons were excommunicated; and had not these five Presbyters retired voluntarily, and declared they would join with none who adhered to St. *Cyprian*, thereby excommunicating themselves, they would have met the same Fate which he had allotted to *Felieissimus* and his Adherents. *Ep. 41.*

(a) St. *Cyprian* indeed often speaks of *Populi suffragium*, but that by *Suffragium* he does not mean a Vote, but only a cheerful Acceptance and good liking, is very plain by his Use of the same Word in other Places. Thus he says in his Treatise *de vanitate idolorum*, of the Jews earnestly urging *Pilate* to crucify our Lord; *Hunc magistri eorum atque primores, hoc est, quos & doctrina ille & sapientia revincebat, accensi ira & indignatione provocati, postremo detentum, Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt: crucem ejus & mortem suffragiis violentis ac pertinacibus flagitantes.* ‘The chief among them, the Doctors of their Law, and the Rulers of their Synagogue, whom he had provoked to the utmost Degree of Rage against him by exposing their Errors and confuting their Pretensions so unanswerably, seized at length upon his Person, and delivered him up in the Hands of *Pontius Pilate*, who had at that Time the Government of Syria entrusted to him by the Roman Emperor, and in a tumultuous way demanded that he might be crucified and put to Death.’ What, had the People of the Jews an equal Authority with *Pilate*? Could *Pilate* determine nothing, especially in capital Causes, without the Suffrages of the Accusers? No such Matter. Again, in his Treatise *de Zelo & Livore*, speaking of the People’s Transport of Joy and Satisfaction at *David*’s slaying of *Goliath*, he expresses it thus: *Populus admirans in laudes David predicationis suffragio profiliit.* ‘They break forth into Commendations of *David* with Suffrage of Applause.’ What can this Suffrage of Applause signify, but plainly a Testimony of the People’s highest Approbation of the Thing done, not expressed by way of Votes to be sure (’twould be absurd enough to imagine that) but by publick Acclamations of them all, as infinitely

Father's Language, namely, that those self condemned Schismatics had done what the People very well approved of, and liked it should be so. And in this Sense we are to understand the next Passage quoted, *viz.* that ' *Pontius* his Deacon says, that St. *Cyprian* was made Bishop by the Grace of God and the Favour of the People.' Now, 'tis plain that by the Favour of the People is meant no more than their Consent and good Liking. And this St. *Cyprian* himself sufficiently shews, *Ep.* 67. by asserting the Reason of the People's being present at the Ordination of a Bishop to be, that the Crimes of the bad might be discovered, and the Merits of the Good made publick.

But the Author of the *Rights*, &c. in his artful Way represents it to be of divine Institution for the Bishop to be chosen by the Suffrages of the People; and that St. *Cyprian* adding, ' the Judgment and Advice of the neighbouring Bishops, is not because they had an equal Authority with the People in this Matter, because that ' would be inconsistent with what both he and these Bishops had declared in their Synodical Epistle.' But will the Reader be pleased to observe, that what St. *Cyprian* says, is descended from divine Tradition and Apostolick Practice as to the manner of celebrating Ordinations, is, that the Bishop be chosen, not by the Votes but in the Presence of the People. So that indeed the Bishops had more than equal Authority with the People. The promoting any one to a Bishoprick, is said to be done by their Judgment or Determination, *Episcoporum Judioio*. The Author of the *Rights*, &c. turns *Judicium* Advice. But let him try what Sense he can make of that Expression so often used by St. *Cyprian* to signify his Authority

finitely pleased with what the holy Champion hath done? And this St. *Cyprian* thought properly expressed by calling it the Suffrage of the People. More Instances of the Word *Suffragium* being taken in this Sense, may be read in *A Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianick Age*, c. 7. to which, as a most learned Book, I refer the Reader.

city, that he was promoted to the Episcopacy, *Judicio Dei.*

To conclude: tho' St. Cyprian (b) styles his People the most holy and numerous Laity and the faithful and uncorrupted Majesty, however he may call their Approbation divine, and consult such of the Laity (c) as have stood their Ground in the Time of Danger, yet in the very same Passage, he observes this Matter of restoring Offenders to the Peace of the Church must be debated at large in a full Assembly of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, as well as the Laity. In his 19th Epistle he decides a Case by himself, about which his Presbyters and Deacons had writ to him in his Absence, as to the Reconciliation of the Lapsed in Time of Persecution. His Words are: *Quoniam tamen significastis quosdam immoderatos esse & communicationem accipiendam festinanter urgere: & desiderastis in hac re formam a me vobis dari: scitis plene scripsisse me ad hanc rem proximis literis ad vos factis credo, ut qui libellum a Martyribus acceperunt, & auxilio eorum adjuvari apud Dominum in delictis suis possunt, si premi infirmitate aliquâ & periculo ceperint, exomologesi factâ, & manu eis a vobis in penitentia imposita cum pace a Martyribus sibi promissâ ad Deum remittantur. Ceteri vero qui nullo libello a Martyribus accepto invidiam faciunt; quoniam non paucorum, nec Ecclesiæ unius, aut unius Provinciae, sed totius Orbis hac causa est, expectant de Domini protectione ipsius publicam pacem.*

‘ But since you have intimated to me that some are very
 ‘ importunate and pressing for a speedy Restoration to
 ‘ Communion, and therefore desire your Directions (d)
 L from

(b) Plebis intus positæ fidelis atque incorrupta majestas. Majestatis vocabulum quod sibi proprium fecerat populus olim tantum Romanus, convenientissime Cyprianus in Reipublicæ Christianæ disciplinâ transtulit ad plebem Christianam.

(c) Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus pariter ac stantibus Laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem, Ep. 30.

(d) Directions from me.] Formam a me vobis dari, i. e. a precise Rule

‘ from me how to proceed in that Affair ; I refer you in
 ‘ answer to my former Letters, whereby I suppose you
 ‘ to be fully instructed in it ; viz. that they who have
 ‘ received commendatory Letters (e) from the Martyrs,
 ‘ and in Virtue thereof, may probably have the earlier Ac-
 ‘ cess to the Pardon and Mercies of God, should be per-
 ‘ mitted to depart hence to him with the Peace of the
 ‘ Church, and that Assurance of Forgiveness which the
 ‘ Martyrs have undertook to secure for them, in case of
 ‘ Danger and Extremity they should make, I mean their
 ‘ humble Confession of their Sins, and receive Imposi-
 ‘ tion of Hands, as in a State of more regular and solemn
 ‘ Penance : But for the rest, who have received no such
 ‘ Letters of Commendation from the Martyrs, and yet
 ‘ would load us with the Odium of insisting upon the
 ‘ most rigorous and harsh Conditions ; since their Num-
 ‘ ber is not considerable, nor the Case, indeed, limited
 ‘ to this or that Church, or Province, but belongs in
 ‘ common to every Church of Christ throughout the
 ‘ World ; they must be content to wait till the Church
 ‘ of Christ is herself restored to a State of Peace
 ‘ through the Protection and Blessing of her Lord and
 ‘ Governor.

This was a Way of Proceeding, which evidently de-
 clared him to have been Master of the Case, and to have
 had in himself the sole Power of deciding it.— We may
 infer the same from his Complaint to *Cornelius* of the Envy
 and

Rule of proceeding, Orders what to do which were to be exactly
 followed ; such as the limited written Orders of a Superior to an in-
 ferior Officer. For the Word *Forma* here is technical, and this (as
 Mr. *Dodwel* hath observed of it in his Dissertation upon the Place)
 is the just Importance of the Phrase.

(e) The Word in the Original is *Libelli*, and signifies Tickets or
 Letters commendatory given by the Martyrs to the Lapsed, in
 order to obtain their speedier Restoration to the Peace of the
 Church. The Persons to whom these Tickets were given are called
Libellatici, of whom see more in *Bingham's Antiquities*, &c. Vol.
 7. Book 16. c. 4. sect. 6.

and Odium he had contracted by admitting some Persons to Communion against the Content and Will of his People who had proved afterwards incorrigible and broken the Promises they had made to him of Reformation. His Words are, *Ep. 59. Quibusdam enim aut crimina sua ita obfistunt, aut fratres (f) obstinate & firmiter renituntur; ut recipi omnino non possint, cum scandalo & periculo plurimorum. Neque enim sic putamina quadam colligenda sunt, ut qua integra & sana sunt vulnerentur, nec utilis aut consultus est pastor qui ita morbidas & contactas oves gregi admiscet, ut gregem totum mali coherentis afflictatione contaminet. O! si posses, frater charissime, istuc interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti & perversi de schismate revertuntur! videres quis mihi labor sit, persuadere patientiam fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant. Namque ut gaudent & latantur cum tolerabiles & minus culpabiles redeunt. Ita contra fremunt & reluctantur, quoties inemendabiles & protervi, & vel adulterijs & sacrificijs contaminati, & postea adhuc insuper & superbi, sic ad Ecclesiam remeant, ut bona intus ingenia corrumpant. Vix plebi persuadeo, imo extorqueo ut tales patiantur admitti; & justior factus est fraternitatis dolor, ex quo unus atque alius obnitente plebe & contradicente, meâ tamen facilitate suscepti, pejores extiterunt, quam prius fuerant, nec fidem*

L 2

peni-

(f) Fratres obstinate & firmiter renituntur.] Qui cum scandalo peccant, ideo Ecclesia depulsi sunt. Unde non mirum tales in schisma lapsos, & Ecclesia extorres, non posse denuo, inemendati cum fuerint, in Ecclesiam recipi, præsertim renitente plebe quæ scandalo illo læsa. Vide annotationes doctissimi Fell, Episcopi non ita pridem Oxoniensis. And this perfectly agrees with the second Rubrick before the Communion Office. If any of those (viz. that intend to partake of the Holy Communion) be an open or notorious evil Liver, or have done any Wrong to his Neighbours by Word or Deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended; the Curate, having Knowledge thereof, shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty Life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied, which before were offended, &c.

penitentia servare potuerunt, quia nec cum verâ penitentia venerant.

For either the Crimes of some are so scandalous, or else the Prejudices of our Brethren against them are so incurable that they cannot be received (g) at the hazard of so many Souls, as the Scandal of admitting them might occasion: Nor may we so cherish Sores or Ulcers as to endanger the sound Parts by keeping them too near together: Nor is he a discreet well advised Shepherd who so mixes the distemper'd or tainted Sheep with the rest of his Flock, as to infect them with the Contagion of the others Malady. O that you would be with us my dearest Brother when any of these Men return to us from their Schism; you would see what Difficulties I am under in persuading our Brethren to silence their Resentments, and consent to the Admission and Reconciliation of these Offenders; for tho' they are exceedingly pleased when such as are less culpable and criminal return to us, yet when such as seem to them incorrigible and obstinate, such as have been polluted either with Sacrifices or Adulteries, and behave moreover with a supercilious Haughtiness do so return to the Church, that there appears a Danger of their corrupting the good Manners of those whom they find there; then our Brethren murmur and will hardly bear it. I have much ado to persuade, nay, I am forced to extort (h) the Consent of my People that such should be restored,

(g) Cannot be received.] They who are ejected out of the Church because of the Scandal given to it, could not prudentially be restored to it, till that Scandal was removed; whatever the Bishop's Authority in this Case might be, he could not in Prudence exert it against such a Torrent of Prejudice.

(h) To extort.] He was determined if possible to have his People's Consent in receiving Persons to Communion, who were therefore denied it because they had given a publick Scandal: So that he did all he could to satisfy his People before he readmitted such Offenders; but yet when his People would not be satisfied, when they were absolutely against it (*obnitente plebe & contradicente me* ta-

men

‘ stored, and their Opposition carries the greater Appearance of Reason with it from the Case of one or two, who have been perhaps too easily received by me, when my People were absolutely against it ; and who have since grown worse upon it, not keeping the Promises they made upon their Professions of Repentance, because indeed they made them hypocritically and their Repentance was Counterteit and Unsincere.’ He speaks all along like a Man who was to govern that whole Affair tho’ he would be determined in it by various Motives and by Persuasions from others if they should appear to him to be reasonable. It was fit indeed that in Cases of Scandal, wherein the Community might be interested, the Community should be consulted, yet so, as not always to be allowed a Negative. From what hath been here cited, we may observe, that St. Cyprian admitted some to Communion without and against the Consent of the People ; to whose Opinion and Request, he was however in the main desirous of paying all possible Observance. Indeed the whole Strain of that glorious Martyr’s Epistles, does so clearly and fully assert the Bishop’s Authority in that Affair, and the Necessity of waiting his Determination (let Presbyters or People, or Martyrs, or Confessors interpose with never so much Vehemence) that there is no room to doubt either of his Opinion in it, or of the Practice which prevailed in the Age he lived in. And now let the Reader judge what great Remains of the Democratical Form were in the second Century, and if he demands further Satisfaction in this Particular, let him consult an excellent Treatise entitled, *An original Draught of the primitive Church*, c. 7. P. 219. 220.

But the Author of the *Rights*, &c. observes, that ‘ the higher you go, the greater Veneration you will find ‘ paid

men facilitate suscepti) he received them in some Instances notwithstanding ; and thereby asserted his Episcopal Authority, whatever Condescensions he might ordinarily resolve and practise.

‘ paid to the People.’ For a Proof of this, he quotes a Passage of St. *Ignatius*, where he tells *Polycarp*, ‘ that he was not only personally to know his own Flock, but to carry himself with all Humility to serving Men and Maids.’

The Passage in St. *Ignatius* as translated by the Archbishop (i) of *Canterbury* runs thus: ‘ Enquire into all by Name. Overlook not the Men and Maid Servants.’ But I am surprized he should quote a Writer for a Democratical Government who according to Mr. *Calamy* (k) has exalted Episcopacy so beyond Measure, as to deserve to be reckoned one out of his Wits.

The Author of the *Rights*, &c. observes further, that ‘ the Divine *Clemens Romanus* professes so high a Respect for the People, that he would have every one say, that to avoid all Contest on his Account, he was ready to depart and go wherever the People please, and to do whatever they should enjoin him.’

I will transcribe this whole Passage, as translated by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. ‘ Who is there among you that is generous? Who that is compassionate? Who that has any Charity? Let him say that

(i) See his Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, p. 125.

(k) I could not help reckoning any Modern that should use such Language as *Ignatius* does, as one out of his Wits or a Blasphemer, *Calamy's Defence*, part 1. p. 152. And without doubt Mr. *Calamy* learned this Treatment of the primitive Fathers from Mr. *Baxter*, who says, ‘Tis past all doubt, that the Number of learned Bishops among the primitive Christians was very rare, and that there are many poor Men among us (divers Weavers and Ploughmen of his own Church at *Kidderminster*) who are able not only to pray and teach as well as most of those who are by *Eusebius* extolled as the famous Bishops of the 2d and 3d Age, but to write as methodical, pious and weighty Tractates as any that had been bred up in Philosophy, no not excepting *Clemens Romanus* himself, *Ignatius*, *Irenaeus*, *Cyprian*, *Macarius*, *Ephrem Syrus*, *Synefius*, *Isidore Pelusiota*, and many more: And that he could name many Laymen, not only learned, but such as have had neither many Languages nor Philosophy, who have written more accurately and judiciously, and as piously as any of these.’ *Baxter's Abridg. of Ch. Hist.* c. 5. § 17. p. 92. *Treatise of Episc.* part 1. c. 14. p. 169.

‘ that this Sedition, this Contention, and these Schisms
 ‘ be upon my Account, I am ready to depart and go whi-
 ‘ thersoever ye please, and do whatsoever the Multitude
 ‘ shall desire of me, only let the Flock of Christ be in
 ‘ Peace with the Priests that are set over it. He that shall
 ‘ do this, shall get to himself a very great Honour in the
 ‘ Lord, and every Place will be ready to receive him.’
 But let the Reader judge of the high Respect that is paid
 to the People, since all that this Exhortation will amount
 to is, that it is the Duty of every Christian, whether
 Priest or Layman, to prefer the publick Peace to his own
 particular Right and Advantage.

But 'tis added, that ‘ where St. *Clement* blames
 ‘ the People, 'tis not for assuming a Power not be-
 ‘ longing to them, but for making a wrong Use of
 ‘ it in turning out such Bishops as they themselves had
 ‘ chosen; and who served the Flock of Christ with
 ‘ all Humility.’ But St. *Clement* is here misrepre-
 sented, whose Words are : *Τὴς ἐν καταστάσεσιν ὅτι ἐκείνων ἡ*
μεταδὺ ὅφ' ἐτέρων ἁλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν (1) ΣΥΝΕΤΔΟΚΗΣΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΚ-
ΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΠΑΣΗΣ, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ τοιμῶν τῷ Χριστῷ μετὰ
ταπεινοφροσύνης ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους το πολλοῖς χρόνοις
ὡς πάντων, τῶν τῶν ἡ δικαίως νομιζομένων ὑποβαλλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας.
 Thus translated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* :
 ‘ Wherefore we cannot think that those may justly be
 ‘ thrown out of their Ministry, who were either appoint-
 ‘ ed by them [*i. e.* the Apostles] or afterwards chosen by
 ‘ other

(1) St. *Clement*'s Word for consenting here is *συνευδοκίας*, and if
 any Word in the *Greek* Tongue could aptly render St. *Cyprian*'s Sense
 of Suffrages, I should think it might be this. But let the Language
 of the inspired Penmen determine it for us. *Ευδοκῶ* is of near Af-
 finity to it; (to be sure) and this we often meet with in holy Writ.
 God's Complacency in his own Son is expressed by that Word in
 three of the Evangelists. *Matth. 3. 17. This is my beloved Son in*
whom I am well pleased. Mark 1. 11. Luke 3. 22. St. *Paul* uses it for
 taking pleasure in Infirmities, in Reproaches, in Necessities; and
 for the Wicked's being pleased in Untighteousness; *2 Theff. 11. 12.*
 And other Places of holy Writ might be produced to the same Pur-
 pose, which the learned Commentators expound by rejoycing, rest-
 ing highly satisfied, and acquiescing in them. And how can the
 Right of Election be grounded on such a Term as this?

‘ other Men, with the Consent of the whole Church;
 ‘ and who have with all Lowliness and Innocency mi-
 ‘ nistred to the Flock of Christ in Peace, and without
 ‘ Self-interest, and were for a long Time commended by
 ‘ all.’ In the primitive Ordinations (as this Apostolick
 Writer teaches us) the Consent of the People was re-
 quired. *It is true* (says Mr. Hughes) *(m)* *we do not deny*
it. But what, I beseech you, was this Consent? By
 the Word which we render thus, we cannot understand
 so much as Nomination, much less Election. St. Cle-
 ment’s Meaning therefore was this: That the Consent of
 the People was requisite in the Ordinations of the Cler-
 gy, viz. that they should give the Persons to be ordained
 their Testimony concerning their Lives, their Manners,
 and their Piety, (as it is intimated in the Words im-
 mediately following) that the Church might suffer no
 Damage; and that the Bishops for want of such Informa-
 tion might not promote unworthy or impious Persons to
 so great Dignity. That this Power belongs to the People,
 I most readily acknowledge, and it is most fully owned by
 the Church of *England*. But if our Adversaries imagine,
 that any Thing farther can be extorted from this Passage
 they are miserably mistaken.

But the Author of the *Rights*, &c. has the Confi-
 dence to affirm, that ‘ the most ancient Fathers acknow-
 ‘ ledge that they owe all unto and receive all from the
 ‘ Church or People;’ and for this he quotes *Tertullian*
Exhort. ad Cast. c. 7. *Nonne & Laici Sacerdoti su-*
mus? Scriptum est enim regnum quoque nos & Sacerdotes
Deo & Patri suo fecit. Differentiam inter ordinem & ple-
bem constituit Ecclesia, & honor per ordinis concessum sancti-
ficatus: adeo ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est concessus & offers
& tingis & sacerdos es tibi solus. And presently after;
Igitur si habes jus Sacerdotis in te ipso, ubi necesse est,
habeas oportet etiam disciplinam Sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit
habere jus Sacerdotis.

This

(m) See his Preliminary Dissertation to St. Chrysostom de Sacer-
 dotio.

This is the main Argument used by our Adversaries to destroy the Distinction between Clergy and Laity and therefore it is requisite to answer it fully.

First then, the Reader will here easily observe, that *Tertullian* does not acknowledge, that the Distinction between the Clergy and Laity was owing to the Church or People, since the honour of the Episcopal College is mentioned by him as having a Share in making this Distinction. He'll further observe, that according to *Tertullian's* arguing all Christians may as well claim a Right to be Kings, as Priests. For thus the Text he (n) refers to affirms, that *Christ hath made us Kings and Priests unto God and his Father*. And that if because God is no respecter of Persons, therefore all have a Right to execute the Priest's Office, all Distinctions whatsoever must be laid aside, and there must be no Difference made betwixt the Prince on the Throne and the Beggar on the Dunghil, But why is this Objection urged without taking Notice of the Answer it received from our learned Mr. *Hen. (o)*

M

Dodwell

(n) Rev. i. 6.

(o) Concerning the Occasion of writing this Treatise, see Mr. *Dodwell's* Life wrote by Mr. *Brokesby*, c. 14. where he says, ' Mr. *William Baxter*, a learned Person, but not very well affected to the Church of England, translated *Hugo Grotius's* Dissertation concerning the Administration of the Lord's Supper where there were no Pastors.' Thus far Mr. *Dodwell*. But *Grotius* vindicated himself, and denied that Book as printed to be his. For *Andreas Rivetus* in his *Animadversiones ad Cassandri consultationem de Religione ab H. Grotio editam*, and in his *Apologeticus pro suo de vera pacis Ecclesie proposito contra H. Grotij votum*, had tax'd *Grotius* to be the Author of a little Dissertation, *De Cane administratione ubi pastores non sunt*, &c. to which *Dionysius Petavius* had published an Answer. But *Hugo Grotius* in his Answer to *Rivet* has fully vindicated himself; for in his *Votum pro pace ecclesiastica*, p. 658, he saith, *Libellus iste cui respondet Reverendus Petavius, cujus sit auctoris, nihil refert, ego eum totum pro meo non agnosco*; that is, he did not own it all to be his. And in p. 694. of his *Rivetiani apologetici discussio*, he thus replies to *Rivet*; *Libellum illum cui vir reverendus Dionysius Petavius respondit, merito pro suo non agnosceit Grotius. Nam & addita sunt qua Grotius nec scripsit nec probat, & qua ab ipso congesta erant, eo erant tempore congesta, quo disputatio ista collebat inter reverendissimum Episcopum Aurelianensem, &*
virum

Dodwell in his Book entitled, *De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali ex Sententia Tertulliani, Dissertatio, Londini, 1685.*

But 2dly, It is to be considered that *Tertullian's* Exhortation to Chastity, from whence this Passage for the Priesthood of Laicks is quoted, was wrote after he turned Montanist, and that the Truth of what he says entirely depends upon his own Reasonings, which will never be of Weight against the Practice and Judgment of the whole Catholick Church.

But 3dly, *Nicolaus Rigaltius* hath, from the Superscription of *St. Cyprian's* Eighth Epistle directed from the Clergy of *Rome* to the Clergy of *Carthage*, struck out into a kind of Dissertation, attempting to prove, that there was originally no Difference between Laity and Clergy, but that all were comprehended under one Denomination, and therefore it may be fit to inform the less learned Reader, that the Difference obtained as early as the Apostolick Age; and besides the many Foot-steps of it, which appear in the Writings of the New Testament, and in the Advices of the Apostles to their People, to obey them who had the Rule over them in the Lord, and to submit themselves, for that they watched for their Souls, and to esteem them very highly in Love for their Work sake; besides the Directions given to *Timothy* and *Titus* with Regard to Elders, and to such as laboured in the Word and Doctrine; (I say besides all this) it is evident from *Clemens Romanus*, that even among the Clergy themselves there were distinct Offices and Provinces; the Bishop (who answered to the Jewish

virum amplissimum Nicolaum Rigaltium, non animo quicquam defendendi sed inquirendi auditorum sententias; that is, ' Grotius did truly deny that Book to be his, because many Things were added which neither Grotius wrote nor approved; and that what he had gathered upon that Subject was on Occasion of a Dispute then on foot betwixt two eminent Persons, but not with Intention to defend either Side, but to enquire after the Opinion of learned Men. What I have quoted is to be found in the 3d Tome of his Theological Works, printed at Amsterdam, 1679.

Jewish High-Priest) had his; the Presbyters or Priests (who answered to the Jewish Elders) had theirs; and the Deacons (who corresponded to the *Levites* (p) under the Law) had also their peculiar Charges; and the Laity had moreover their Rules and Laws, by which they were to be directed, in *Ep. 1. to Corinth Sect. 40.* The whole People of *Israel* were called a *Kingdom of Priests*, *Exod. 19. 6. i. e.* with regard to the Nations round about them, but yet no Man will be so hardy as to say, that they had not a Priesthood within themselves, which was not common to their Laity; and so when *St. Peter* calls the whole Body of Christians *an holy, a Royal Priesthood*, *1 Pet. 2, 5, 9.* we must understand him in the Comparison with other People; but yet we are otherwise sure, that he did not exclude a proper Priesthood from Christians among (q) themselves.

Another Passage quoted from *Tertullian*, is in his Treatise, *De Prescrip. Hæret. c. 41.* *Alius hodie Episcopus, cras alius: Hodie diaconus, qui erat Lector. Hodie Presbyter qui cras laicus. Nam & laicis sacerdotalia munera iungunt.* So that *Tertullian* says, it was customary among Hereticks to confound the Offices of Clergy and Laity together: ‘ They made one a Bishop to Day, and another to Morrow, to Day a Deacon, and to Morrow a Reader; to Day a Presbyter, and to Morrow a Lay-man.’ For Laymen among them performed the Offices of the Priesthood. But this was not the Custom of the Catholick Church. And *Tertullian* grants no other Priesthood to Laymen, save that they may baptize in case of absolute Necessity, when none of the Ecclesiastical Order can be had, and does by no Means confound the Offices of

M 2

Laity

(p) Το γὰρ Ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδ' αὶ λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προσέτακται, καὶ λεῖταις ἰδ' αὶ διακονίαι ἐπικείνται. ὁ λαὸς ἀνθρώπων λαϊκοῖς προσάγμασι δέδεται. P. 92. Edit. Oxon. 1669.

(q) See this Passage explained in the Appendix to *Lay-Baptism invalid*, p. 195.—201. In *Testimonies for and against Lay-Baptism examined*, Part 2. c. 3. p. 39.—46.

Laity and Clergy together, unless any one can think Cases Ordinary and Extraordinary all one.

One would wonder that the Author of the *Rights*, &c. should quote the spurious Decretal of *P. Anacletus*, as that good Bishop's Opinion, which yet he does with great Gravity: Perhaps he knew no better, but thought the most impudent papal Forgery that ever was, authentick History. But it is a greater Wonder, that he should quote it so by halves, when he must needs know that it would be examined after him. The whole Passage is this; *Ejectionem summorum sacerdotum sibi dominus reservavit, licet electionem eorum bonis sacerdotibus & spiritualibus populis concessisset.* (r) *Isidore Mercator*, who forged this Epistle, endeavours to ape Antiquity as much as his Knowledge of this Matter would give him leave. What he means by *Electio* here, appears from other Places of this Epistle: *Sacerdotes a proprio ordinentur Episcopo, ita ut cives & alij sacerdotes assensum præbeant. Similiter & diaconi ordinentur.* (s) 'The People and Priests together recommended, the Bishop only ordained.'

But the Author of the *Rights*, &c. affirms there is no Instance of any one being made a Bishop in the three first Centuries, except by the Election of the whole Church. The contrary hath been already shewn, though we allow that popular Elections were certainly in use in the earliest Ages of the Church. But then those Men that chose the *Cyprians*, the *Ambroses*, and the *Damasus's* of Antiquity, did no more consecrate the Men whom they had so chosen, than the Church of *Jerusalem* appointed the seven Men of honest Report whom they presented to the Apostles. The Author of the *Rights*, &c. should have proved this before he talked so positively; for want of that Proof, all that he says is highly disingenuous.

Let us now enquire what the Dissenters have further to say in point of Antiquity.

(r) Pseudo-Isidorus Blondelli, p. 124.

(s) Id. ibid. p. 121.

I have read it alledged (†) from *Enseb. l. 10. c. 4.* that
 ‘ a Bishop had no greater Charge, than he could take
 ‘ personal notice of their Souls;’ and *l. 6. c. 29.* faith,
 that ‘ *Anno 236* all the Faithful in *Rome* did meet toge-
 ‘ ther in one Place, to chuse another Bishop in place of
 ‘ (u) *Anteros*.

Cyprian, l. 2. Ep. 5. ‘ When a Bishop was to be cho-
 ‘ sen, the whole Body of the People were called toge-
 ‘ ther, that he might be elected before all their Eyes,
 ‘ and by the Suffrage of the whole Fraternity.’ Here
 are two Things to be noted, that the Body of the People
 elected their own Bishop; next, that the People of whom
 the Bishop was to take charge, could meet together in
 one Place: One Bishop had commonly but one Altar or
 Communion Table: So that one Bishop now after the
 new Model, taketh a greater Charge than would have well
 served 20, yea 40 in former Times.

I can see nothing in any of these Passages of *Ensebins*
 or *Cyprian* to the purpose for which they are alledged. As
 to the first *Enseb. l. 10. c. 4.* there is not the least Syl-
 lable that looks that Way. For that Chapter is only a
 Proemium or Introduction to the following, which is a
 Panegyrick spoken to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre* to com-
 pliment him for the handsome Church he built there. As
 to the other Passage, *Enseb. l. 6. c. 29.* I shall give
 it at length, and then let the Reader judge whether it is
 possible to draw any Inference from it, that a Bishop’s
 Church was only one Congregation. The Passage is in
 the Original in the Margent (x) and translated here.
 ‘ When

(†) *Modest Apology, &c. p. 50, 51.*

(u) *Anteros* was a *Grecian*, the Son of *Romulus*, who by his ex-
 traordinary Care in collecting the Acts of the Martyrs exasperated
 the Government, and it is said, caused himself to be made a Mar-
 tyr, after he had held this Dignity forty Days. *Echard’s Gen. Eccl.*
Hist. Vol. 2. p. 581.

(x) Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν πάντων χειροτονείας ἕνεκεν τῆς τῷ μέλλοντος
 διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπῆς, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ σύγκροτιμένων, πλείων τε
 ἐπιφανῶν

‘ When all the Brethren were met together in the Church
 ‘ to chuse a new Bishop, and many eminent and illust-
 ‘ rious Persons were thought of for that Office; on the
 ‘ Suddain a Dove lighted upon the Head of *Fabianus*,
 ‘ whom no Man had thought of before: Whereupon
 ‘ all together with one accord, as it were moved by the
 ‘ same Divine Spirit, cried out, he is worthy; and
 ‘ without any further Delay placed him in the Bishop’s
 ‘ Throne.’ Now if we must conclude (as Dr. *Mau-*
rice (y) well observes) that all the faithful in *Rome* with-
 out any Allowance or Exception, did meet in one Place
 in the third Century to chuse a Bishop, and therefore
 there were no more than could assemble in one Place, it
 will follow from the very same Phrase that in the fourth,
 fifth, and sixth Centuries, and so forward, there was but
 one Congregation in *Rome*, after it was become Christian.
 For in the fourth Age, *Felix* and all the *Roman* Clergy
 (z) swore in the Prefence of the People of *Rome* they
 would not chuse any other Bishop while *Liberius* lived.
 In the next (a) all the People are said to answer *Amen* to
 the Prayer which *Vigilius* their Bishop made. *Pelagius*
 is said, in *St. Peter’s Church* in *Rome*, to have gone up
 into the Pulpit, and satisfy’d all the People, (b) that he
 had done *Vigilius* his Predecessor no harm. *Gregory* the
 Great

ἐπιφανῆν χ’ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων ὁ Φαβιανὸς
 παρὼν, ὃ δὲνὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διανοίαν ἦει· ὁ μὲν δ’ ἦν ἀθρόως ἐκ μετεώρου
 περιετρεπὼν καταπλάσαντα ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτῇ κεφαλῇ μνημονεύσει, μίμημα
 ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἐν εἴδει περιετρεπῶς κα-
 θέδου. Ἐφ’ ᾧ τὸν πάντα λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ’ ἑνὸς πνεύματος Θεοῦ κινήθεντα
 ὁμάσει, προθυμία πάση χ’ μία ψυχῇ ἄξιον ἐπιβοῇσαι. Καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ
 τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπισθῆναι. *Euseb. Hist. l. 6. c. 29.*

Fabian held the Bishoprick of *Rome* for about 14 Years, and was
 the 19th Bishop of *Rome* after the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*.

(y) *Dioc. Ep. p. 333—4.*

(z) *Præfente Populo Romano. Marcel. & Faust. 1. 16. præc.*

(a) *Datæque oratione respondit omnis populus Amen. Lib. Pont. in Vigil.*

(b) *Satisfecit cuncto populo & plebi quia nullum malum fecisset contra Virgilium. Lib. Pont. in Pelag.*

Great is said to be chosen by all (c) the People, tho' at that Time in *Rome* there were neither Heathen nor Sec-taries to make any Abatements in the Bishop's Flock. Nay, if our Author will insist rigidly on this Phrase, all *Israel* in the time of *Samuel* was no more than could meet in one Place to hear *Samuel*, who is said to speak to all (d) *Israel*; and they answer, that he had neither oppressed nor defrauded them. What if the Generality of Bishops for a long Time after the Apostles had but one Congregation to govern? If all the Believers in and about a City, would hardly make a Congregation, that is to be ascribed to the Condition of those Times, and not to be reckoned essential to the Office, all Things have their Beginning but are not confined to the Measures of their Infancy: and if the Beginnings of the Church were but small, even the greatest Cities, it cannot be a Prejudice to the Governor of it, if the Number of Believers should encrease, since they are appointed in (e) *Clemens's* Opinion for the Service, not only of those who did at that Time believe, but of all likewise who should, in after Times, be Believers in such a District. Now, if in such a District (for Instance) as *Rome* with it's Dependencies, there was but one Bishop appointed, and if he was appointed to preside over all, who should in after Times believe within that Compass; he must have been designed for a very extensive Province, and certainly for more than a single Congregation. And I appeal to any Man who is at all versed in primitive Records, whether he hath ever heard of more than one Bishop at one Time, in *Rome*, except perhaps while the Dispute was warm between the Jewish and Gentile Converts, who had each of them (as some say) their distinct Bishop. If they had so, it was

a

(c) *Gregorium Diaconum plebs omnis elegit. Greg. Turon. l. 10. c. 1. Joh. Diac. l. 1. c. 39, 40.*

(d) 1 Sam. 12. 1, 4.

(e) Κατὰ χώρας ἦν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες [Απόστολοι] καθίστανου τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμάζοντες τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πηγεύειν.

a Cale peculiar; and they considered themselves as two distinct Ecclesiastical Societies, each of which was however united under one single Head, who was the Bishop. Neither of these had above one at once, from whom they reckoned the Succession to their respective Churches.

The Course then, was (as Mr. *Marshall* (f) well observes) that as the Converts of the Bishop multiplied, who was thus appointed by the Apostles to gather a Church, and to preside over it, Presbyters were ordained to be his Assistants; and these, whilst one Place of Assembly would contain his whole Number, did either serve it under him, or supplied his Absence. But when his Converts grew too numerous for a single Congregation (which in very many Sees must have been within the first Century, and whilst some of the Apostles yet were living) the Bishop then delegated some of these his Presbyters, to serve their spiritual Occasions in distinct Assemblies for Worship; though still with such a Dependence upon the Mother Church, that Baptism with divers other Offices, was not regularly performed out of it. This Delegation was at first Occasional, and the whole Superintendency was still his own. But as the Number of his Converts was still further increased, the Bishop found himself obliged to enlarge the Power of these his Substitutes; nor was it long before they had a fixed Relation to a determinate Proportion of his Parish or Diocese. Since Pope *Evaristus* is said to have divided the City of *Rome* into a certain Number of Titles (what we now call Parishes) very early in the second Century, and within three or four Years from the Death of St. *John*.

The Bishop however, was still all along considered as the chief Ecclesiastical Officer, who had always his Negative in Matters of Moment, and without whom, divers Acts of these Presbyters were censured as irregular.

Our

(f) See his *Penitential Discipline*, &c. p. 242.—245.

Our Accounts of the Worship, Discipline, and Regimen of the primitive Church, are taken for the main from what was done in the Cathedral or Mother Church, where the Bishop himself officiated, nor have we indeed any thing of Moment transmitted to us, but what was there transacted.

What passed in parochial Churches (according to the modern Signification of the Words) is very little known to us; only we have Reason to believe, that the Presbyter detached from the Bishop to serve the Occasions of those less Assemblies, did not depart from the Usages of the Church he was sent from, except in such Circumstances, as the Littleness of the Place, and the want of more Church-Officers, rendered necessary.

What hath led our Contenders for the Presbyterian Model into their Error, may perhaps have been their want of attending to this Distinction.

The Accounts we have of the ancient Worship do make indeed the Bishop chief Agent in all Church Offices; from whence they conclude him to have been little, if any thing, more than a Parish Priest. They do not mean while consider him as sitting in his Episcopal Throne, and there surrounded with Presbyters who were all at his Command, to be sent occasionally to, or statedly fixed in, any of his suburbicary Districts, to which he should assign them.

And though we have little or no Account of the Worship, which there was celebrated; yet we have plain Evidences that such Places there were (and Worship in them) distinct from that in which the Bishop himself officiated, and intirely subject to his Directions. This is Proof enough of an Imparity in those, who yet presided in the respective Places of publick Worship; and will lay a just Foundation of the present (obtaining) Distinction between the Cathedral and Parochial Service.

It is now Time to consider the Authority of St. Cyprian, whose Words in the Margent, are thus translated:

N

(g) 'Where-

(g) ' Wherefore the Rule which we have handed down
 ' to us from God himself, and from the Practice of the
 ' Apostles, should be observed with all Exactness, as it
 ' is indeed already among us, and generally amongst the
 ' Provinces here, viz. that in celebrating our Ordina-
 ' tions the neighbouring Bishops of a Province where a
 ' Bishop is to be ordained for any People, should meet
 ' upon the Place, and chuse a Bishop (h) in the Presence
 ' of the People, who best know the Lives and Conver-
 ' sations of the several Persons who may happen to be
 ' named, and have had Opportunities of observing their
 ' Behaviour and Conduct. This Rule we find you took
 ' along with you in the Ordination of our Collegue Sa-
 ' binus, who was unanimously chosen by the Votes of all
 ' the People, and the Approbation of the Bishops who
 ' were assembled, and who had written Letters to you
 ' beforehand on his behalf; and so the Episcopate was
 ' conferred upon him, and he received Imposition of
 ' Hands accordingly to succeed *Basilides*. The Right
 of Election therefore (as Bishop *Beveridge* (i) observes)
 was in the Bishops present; but the Consent and Appro-
 bation of the Election, with a Testimony of the Person
 elected,

(g) Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina & apostolica
 observatione servandum est & tenendum, quod apud nos, quoque
 & fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite ce-
 lebrandas Episcopi ejusdem provinciae proximi quique convenient,
 & Episcopus delegatur plebe praesente, quae singulorum vitam ple-
 nissime novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione per-
 spexit. Quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegae nostri
 ordinatione, ut de universae fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcopo-
 rum qui in praesentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fece-
 rant, judicio, episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in locum Basi-
 lidis imponeretur. Cyp. Ep. 67. Ed. Ox.

(h) Whatever Agency the People had in chusing, it was not we
 see exclusive of the neighbouring Bishops Choice; who had indeed
 such a Negative upon the People, that howsoever they might and
 did ordinarily comply with their Ordinations, yet sometimes they
 would ordain any other Person where there was notorious Reason
 for it.

(i) Ad Can. 4. Concil. Nicæn.

electd, appertained to the People. (k) That is, the People's Testimony and Suffrage was asked, and then the Bishops acted what themselves judged expedient. The Consent of the People was asked, not that it was thought absolutely needful, but only that thereby they might be better pleased and satisfied with their Bishop, because they themselves also gave their Suffrage to his Election. But it is certain that the whole Power of Election as well as Ordination was in the Bishops, even as it had been in their Predecessors the Apostles. For we may read of many Episcopal Ordinations and Elections celebrated by the Bishops without the People, but none by the People without the Bishops. However it was not convenient that the Bishops should exercise this Power frequently, lest the People, offended with such a despotick Proceeding, might make a Schism from their Pastor. Wherefore I am perswaded that the People, amongst whom I also include the Clergy, generally nominated some fit Person

N 2

or

(k) In the Church of England the People were never admitted to the Choice of a Bishop from its first becoming Christian to this very Day; and therefore to take it from the Clergy, in whom it always was by Permission of Princes, and to interest the People in it is to recede *a traditionibus majorum*, from the Religion of our Forefathers, and to innovate in an high Proportion.

In those Churches where the People's Suffrage (by way of Testimony I mean and Approbation) did concur with the Synod of Bishops in the Choice of a Bishop, the People at last according to their usual Guise, grew hot, angry, and tumultuous, and then were engaged by Divisions in Religion to name a Bishop of their own Sect; and to disgrace one another by publick Scandal and Contestation, and often grew up to Sedition and Murder; and therefore although they were never admitted (unless where themselves usurped) farther than I have declared, yet even this was taken from them, especially since in tumultuous Assemblies they were apt to carry all before them. They know not how to distinguish between Power and Right, they had not well learned to take denial, but began to obtrude whom they listed, to swell higher like a Torrent when they were checked; and the Sole ship of Election, which by the ancient Canons was in the Bishops, they would have asserted wholly to themselves both in Right and Execution. See Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy asserted*, p. 134.

or Persons, whom the Bishops if they approved of, consecrated, or otherwise ordered them to make a new Choice, which if they refused to do, then the Bishops themselves appointed whom they thought fit.

But 2dly, There is a great Difference between chusing the Bishop, the People being present, which is all (1) St. *Cyprian* says, and that the People being present should chuse their Bishop; and it is one thing to give Testimony to a Man as worthy of the Episcopal Office, and another Thing to chuse him; for many Men may have the like Testimony of equal Merit, when one only is chosen. But he adds, it is said, that *by the Suffrage of the whole Fraternity the Episcopate be delivered to him*, which refers to the Choice of *Sabinus*, and yet there makes a Difference between the Suffrage of the Fraternity and the Judgment of the Bishops; which supposes that the Bishops had a superior Power to judge of their Suffrages. And yet what

(1) The main Arguments for popular Elections, are some mistaken Passages of St. *Cyprian*. And though this holy Father sometimes did use to consult with the Priests, Deacons, and People, in ordaining to the lower Degrees, yet the Reason was this, that he might weigh every Man's Merit and Manners by their common Advice, as he himself expresses it in the Beginning of his 38th Epistle: But to shew this gave them no Right to elect (saith Dr. *Comber*, vol. 2. p. 210.) he there speaks of one that he ordained privately, viz. *Aurelius*, because he knew he was worthy: And his next Epistle presents us with a like Case with respect to *Celerinus*. Now it is not likely that this strict Father and holy Martyr would have chosen Men into his Clergy without the People, if they had a Right to elect. 'Tis truly a great Wonder, that Men to gratify a Party, should suppose that Christ or his Apostles were the Authors of a Thing so naturally tending to divide and disgrace the Church, and so manifestly the Cause of Confusion and every evil Work. 'Tis well known the Generality of the People are such incompetent Judges, that if they had such a Right, the most Votes would commonly fall on the * worst Men. An empty, cunning, and plausible Hypocrite would easily get more Suffrages among the Mob, than the most knowing, humble, and holy Men, who least seek the Honour they most deserve.

* Φαῖλος κριτὴς παντὸς καλῆς πράγματος ὁ ὄχλος. Pythag. apud Stobæum.

what these Suffrages were, we are told, that that may be a just and regular Ordination which is examined by the Judgment and Suffrages of all. So that the Suffrage of the People concerned only the Examination of the Worth and Fitness of the Bishop to be ordained. I shall observe one Thing more from St. *Cyprian's* Epistle, that the Election of the Bishops in the Presence and under the Eye of the People, as he speaks, was not in those Days the universal Practice of the Church, and therefore can be no Argument against our Church at this Day; for though he thinks it a divine and apostolical Tradition and Practice, yet he says this Custom of chusing Bishops was observed not in all, but almost in all Provinces; and yet he does not condemn or reject the Bishops of those Provinces where it was not observed.

Bishop *Stillingfleet* (*m*) is one of the last that has considered this Matter, and he gives us his Sense in these following Observations.

1st. ' That the main Ground of the People's Interest ' was founded upon the Apostle's Canon, that *a Bishop* ' *must be blameless and of good Report*; and therefore he ' says, ' the People's Share and Concern in Elections, even ' in *Cyprian's* Time, was not to give their Votes, but ' only their Testimony concerning the good or ill Beha- ' viour of the Person.

2dly. ' That yet upon this, the People assumed the ' Power of Elections, and thereby caused great Distur- ' bances and Disorders in the Church.

3dly. ' That to prevent these, many Bishops were ' appointed without their Choice, and Canons made for ' the better regulating of them.

4thly. ' That when there were Christian Magistrates, ' they did interpose as they thought fit, notwithstanding ' the popular Claim, in a Matter of so great Consequence ' to the Peace of the Church and State.

5thly.

(*m*) Unreason. of Separat. Par. 3. n. 25. p. 312. *ibid*, p. 316, 317.

5thly. ' That upon the Alteration of the Government
 ' of *Christendom*, the Interest of the People was secured
 ' by their Consent in Parliaments; and that by such Con-
 ' sent the Nomination of Bishops was reserved to Princes,
 ' and the Patronage (*n*) of Livings to particular Per-
 ' sons.

From the Words of St. *Cyprian* our Adversaries re-
 mark, that ' the People of whom the Bishop was to
 ' take charge, could meet in one Place.' What then?
 Dr. *Maurice* (*o*) gives a very good Reason why this
 should not be urged as an Argument for Congregational
 Episcopacy. Now to deal liberally with this Notion of
 primitive Episcopacy, let us yield up the Point at once,
 and grant that no Bishop for the first three Centuries had
 more than one Congregation: But at the same Time let
 us take the Reason along with us, that for so long Time
 no City had more Christians than might meet in one
 Church, no Bishop then could have more Congregations
 than

(*n*) We have Reason to believe, that when the Church gave the
 Right of Presentation to Lay Patrons (for the Bishop had originally
 the Right of judging the Qualifications of Priests, and fixing them
 in their respective Cures, without being accountable to a *Quare im-*
pedis for their Refusal of the People's Choice.) When the Church
 I say parted with this Right, she had no Suspicion of the Degenera-
 cy of After-Ages; but imagined that the Integrity and Conscience,
 if not the Munificence of the first Patrons might have been trans-
 mitted to the Heirs or Purchasers of their Right. The Piety of those
 Times would have made it look uncharitable to have been appre-
 hensive of Resignation Bonds, of forced Compositions, and Con-
 tracts for Farms or Women. But some People have now learned
 to make bold with God Almighty, beyond the Imagination as well
 as the Example of their Predecessors; and to be guilty of those sa-
 crilegious Frauds, which by the late Provision of our Laws against
 some of them, seem not to have been so much as thought on in
 those more primitive and religious Days. Let me here repeat Dr.
Hickes's Wish: ' Could I see Patronage of Ecclesiastical Livings re-
 ' formed, and regulated as a pure Trust, and secured from Simo-
 ' niacal Contracts, (which is easy to be done) I should then say
 ' with Joy, *Lord, now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace, for mine*
 ' *Eyes have seen thy Salvation.*' Pref. to Con. Let. Vol. 1,

(*o*) Def. of Dioc. Ep. p. 67.

than all this City and Territory did compose. But the Controversies about Church Government are still undecided, for this does not preclude the Bishops from a Right of having more Congregations if more had been. *Cartwright* the Arch-Puritan in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, wrote a Book endeavouring to prove that the primitive Churches which had Bishops were Parishes only and not Dioceses, and that the Church of each City were but one parishional Congregation. This was solidly and learnedly answered at that Time so as to put an End to that vain Pretence. Thus that Plea of the Dissenters lay asleep from that Time till some Years ago when Mr. *Clerkson* wrote his *No Scripture Evidence for Diocesan Bishops*, wherein this Topick is again set up and was taken as a new Discovery, which occasioned an excellent Answer to him by Dr. *Maurice*, to which no Reply has been made to this Day. Mr. *Baxter's* Episcopacy was likewise excellently answered by Dr. *Maurice*, printed 1682. too hard for the Teeth of all the Dissenters in *England*. From which Books any that desires it, may receive full Satisfaction in this Matter.

It has been observed by our Adversaries from St. *Cyprian's* Words: ' That one Bishop had commonly but ' one Altar or Communion Table: ' So that one Bishop now, after the new Model, taketh a greater Charge than would have well served twenty, yea forty in former Times.

But 'tis well known to all that have dipt into Antiquity, that only the Communion Table in the Cathedral Church was called the Altar. And therefore one (p) Altar is as consistent with many Communion Tables, as one Cathedral is with many Churches. This has been the Subject of a whole Book between Mr. *Dodwell* and Mr. *Baxter*. The former acquaints us that, as the *Jews* one Altar and worshipping Place at *Jerusalem* did not hinder their Altars

(p) See Mr. *Dodwell's* second Letter to Mr. *Baxter*, from p. 283 to 296.

tars for inferior Sacrifices, such was *David's* in *Bethlem*, 1 *Sam.* 20, 6. Such was *Abolom's* at *Hebron*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 15. Nor their Oratories of Memorial, nor Synagogues; nor Oratories in their several Cities. So neither did the Bishop's one Cathedral Altar (for so I may call it) hinder the Presbyters Parochial Altar in their several Titles or Oratories. (See this proved at large by Mr. *Dodwell* (q) one Altar and Priesthood c. 3. 4.) you will there find that only such Altars were accounted to be inconsistent with the Unity of their one Altar as rival'd it. So that that Expression of one Altar signified the Communion of the Bishop tho' in distinct Places and Churches in allusion to the one Altar at *Jerusalem* under the Law, and the one High Priest with whom the Synagogues in different Places, and all the inferior Priests did communicate without supposing their personal Presence which was impossible, for the Temple could not hold them, far less could the High Priest in Person administer to them all. Our Cathedral Churches answer to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and our Parish Churches to the Synagogue, and for this Reason it is, that we find among the Ancients so much concerning one Altar, and the setting up Altar against Altar, when a schismatical Bishop endeavoured to draw the People from the Communion of the true Bishop, alluding therein to the *Jewish* Temple which was but one tho' the Synagogues were many. And therefore our Dissenters are mistaken (r) in their Argument when from this

one

(q) That learned *Prussian* Dr. *John Ernest Grabe* much valued Mr. *Dodwell's* Treatise of *One Altar and Priesthood*, and had some Thoughts of translating it into *Latin* for the Use of foreign Churches, to whom he believed it might be very advantageous. See Mr. *Dodwell's* Life and Account of his Writings, by *Francis Brokesby*, B. D. c. 11. p. 83. Dr. *Grabe's* Character may be read in Mr. *Nelson's* Life of *Bishop Bull*, from p. 402 to 408.

(r) This Mistake runs through a Book, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the primitive Church that flourished within the first 300 Years of Christ*; and is rectified in an excellent Treatise, entitled, *An original Draught of the primitive Church*.

one Altar they would infer, that a Bishop could have but one Congregation of Christians under his Care, for one Altar that is one Cathedral Church was, and is, as consistent with many Communion Tables or Parish Churches as one Temple was with many Synagogues. The Dissenters go upon a false Supposition when they would make it essential to a Bishop such as we have in the Church of *England* (f) or *Ireland* to have more than one Congregation under his Care. A Bishop may have no more Souls in his Diocese than a Presbyter has in his Parish, and it is actually so in *England*: The Ministers of St. Gyles in the *Fields*, or St. Andrew's *Holborn*, or St. Marger's *Westminster* have more Souls in one single Parish than the Bishop of the *Isle of Man* has in the seventeen Parishes of his Diocese. Nay, some of our *Irish* Bishopricks (*Kilfenora*, (t) *Aghadoe*) (u) have not more Souls nor near so many as some larger Parishes. The Question is, whether they had more Congregations and meeting Places than one. And to shew the Reader the Partiality of these Men, I would have him consider that there is hardly a Sect in the City of *Dublin* so small, but they are forced to use more meeting Places than one, and have distinct Congregations; and yet, they will not allow

O

so

Church. They who consult that most excellent and learned Treatise, will find the Point of Episcopacy established after so clear and solid a Manner, as the greatest Adversaries of the Episcopate, in the true Sense of it will never be able to gainsay or resist.

(f) Parochial Episcopacy was never heard of in *England* till of late Years. For nothing can be plainer in our History, than what is affirmed in two of our Laws, *Stat. of Carlile*, 25 Ed. 1. and the *Statute of Provisions*, 25 Ed. 3. that the Church of *England* was founded in Prelacy, or Diocesan Episcopacy. For our first Bishops were so far from being confined to one Church or Town, that at first in the *Saxon* Division of Kingdoms, every Bishop had his Diocese equal with the Extent of the Kingdom, except in *Kent*, where one Suffragan to the Archbishop at *Rochester* was confirmed.

(t) A Bishoprick in the County of *Clare*, united now to the Archbishoprick of *Tuam*.

(u) A Bishoprick in the County of *Kerry*, united to *Limerick*, valued in Bishop *Vesey's* Time at 11. 15. 8d.

so great Success to Christianity at first, as their little Sects have met with, and the Reason is plain, it would spoil their dear Independent Notion of a Parochial (x) Episcopacy. But suppose Christians at first could all be contained

(x) The Vindicator of Bishop *Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 62, 63, says, that Mr. *Baxter* by setting up a parochial Episcopacy, a compounded Creature of Presbytery and Independence, must unchurch all the Churches that ever were in the World. Some derive this congregational Way from *Socinus*, who perhaps thought it the most suitable to his Design of spreading the Poison of his Heresy, and to prevent all Dangers that may threaten it from the Condemnation of Synods, especially considering the late Union that had been made between all the reformed Churches of the greater and lesser *Poland* in the Synod of *Sandomiria*. Others deduce it from *Ramus* and *Morellius*, who placed all Ecclesiastical Authority in the People; and by making the Government of the Church to be a Democracy, made way for congregational Independence. This put the *French* Churches to the Trouble of several Synods, which condemned this Doctrine as pernicious to the Unity of Christian Churches, and derogating from the Honour of Religion. Mr. *Thorndyke* conjectures, that it came over hither with *Ramus's* Philosophy, and that his Credit in our Universities was the first means to bring this Conceit in Religion among us. For about that Time that he was most cry'd up in them, *Brown* and *Barrow* published it. And *R. Bayly*, who endeavours to relieve the *English* Presbyterians from the Imputation of having begot this ill-faced Child, (as the *Diffuasive*, p. 12. 13, calls it) would fain also father it upon *Morellius*, who (as he thinks) learned from the Disciples of *Munster* this Ecclesiastical Anarchy. See *A Vindication of the primitive Church*, p. 400, 401. The Synod of *Charenton*, 1644, takes notice of the Error of the Independents; they teach, *Unamquamque Ecclesiam suis propriis legibus ita gubernari debere*; 'that every Church ought
' to be governed by its own Laws, that in Matters Ecclesiastical
' it be subject to no other, nor depend upon any other, nor is it
' bound to acknowledge the Authority of any Conference or Synods
' in reference to its own Government and Administration.' Of which Error the Synod of *Charenton* gives this Sentence: *Esse hanc sectam tam reipublica quam ecclesia perniciosam, absurdis quibuscunque insanisque commentis viam aperire, omnes ijs medendi rationes tollere; ac si illi sententia locus esset, posse tot religiones fingi quot paracia privative conventus forent*; 'That this Sect is pernicious both to Church and Commonwealth; it opens a Gap to all absurd and mad Inventions
' whatsoever, it takes away all the Ways and Means of healing
' them; and if way should be given to that Opinion, there would
' be as many Religions as there are Parishes or private Meetings.

tained in one Congregation under an Independent Bishop, what was to be done with them when they did exceed that Proportion? Was the Number ever made a Reason or Occasion of creating two Bishops in a City? Let them prove that and take the Cause. Some whole Cities of the largest Sort were converted to the Christian Faith in the first two Centuries, particularly *Neocæsarea* a large and wealthy Province, here were certainly more than could meet in one Assembly, especially in Time of Persecution. Do we find them demanding a new Bishop to head their Congregations, or ever dreaming such a one to be needful? I am far enough from believing with our Presbyterians, that the Bulk of our present Diocesses is any Argument against our modern Episcopacy; since it may be proved, that some of the ancient Parishes (as they were then called, though they had the same Signification with what we now call Diocesses) were equal in Extent and Compass, and in Number of People to our present Bishopricks. For at last the Question will be, whether the primitive Church was governed by a Parity, or Imparity of Church Ministers, who severally presided in their respective Places of publick Worship, whether the Succession to the Principal, or Mother Church was not always reckoned by some one Pastor, to whom the rest, during his Life owed Subjection; and by whom they were restrained and regulated in the Exercise of their ministerial Function. If this Question be determined in favour of Episcopacy, and it some one Church Officer did always preside over the rest in such a District, all other Questions will be beside the Point, nor will they to any Purpose affect the Grand Debate. If the Dissenters insist upon it and will make it appear that our Bishops have too large a District, and that a greater Number of Bishops is requisite in the Church of *Ireland*, I make no doubt but upon proper Application to the King and Parliament, the like Statute (y) will be enacted here which is in force in *England*.

O 2

I

(y) The late Bishop *Burnet*, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. 1. p. 157, informs us,

I have now given the Sentiments of the learned, upon the Subject of popular Elections with regard to Ecclesiastical Ministers, and I dare appeal to any unprejudiced Person, whether the Peace of the Church which every good Christian ought to have at Heart, is not better preserved by the Method used in the established Church than that among Dissenters. And I cannot but wonder why Mr. *Baxter* in his Treatise of Episcopacy, Part I. p. 164. asserted that the Church of *Scotland* is an eminent Instance that Churches which have no Bishops, have incomparably less Heresie, Schism, and Wickedness and more Concord

that by *Stat. 26. Hen. 8. Anno 1534*, the Archbishops and Bishops after-mentioned may constitute Suffragans in the Towns following.

Archbishops of	<i>Canterbury,</i>	At <i>Dover.</i>
	<i>York,</i>	At <i>Nottingham,</i>
Bishops of	<i>London,</i>	At <i>Colchester.</i>
	<i>Durham,</i>	At <i>Berwick.</i>
	<i>Winchester,</i>	At <i>Guilford, Southampton</i>
		<i>Wight Insul.</i>
	<i>Lincoln,</i>	At <i>Bedford, Leicester, Gran-</i>
		<i>tham, Huntington.</i>
	<i>Norwich,</i>	At <i>Therford, Ipswich, Marlbo-</i>
		<i>rough, Melton.</i>
	<i>Bath and Wells,</i>	At <i>Taunton.</i>
	<i>Hereford,</i>	At <i>Bridgenorth.</i>
	<i>Litchfield and Coventry,</i>	At <i>Shrewsbury.</i>
	<i>Eli,</i>	At <i>Cambridge.</i>
	<i>Exeter,</i>	At <i>St. Germans.</i>
	<i>Carlisle,</i>	At <i>Perith.</i>

These Suffragans are to be consecrated by the Archbishop and two other Bishops, and by the Act to have the same Episcopal Power as Suffragans formerly had within this Realm. But none of them to have or act any thing properly Episcopal without the Consent of the Bishop of the City in whose Diocese he was placed and constituted. The Obligation of Bishops to all Parts and Consequences of their Duty, and particularly as to Residence, is far greater than that of Parochial Priests, inasmuch as the right Discharge of their Office is of greater Concern to the Good of the Church, and is also imposed on them by divine Institution. If therefore a Priest ought not to neglect his Charge, much less a Bishop; and if the Absence of a Parochial Priest ought to be supplied by a Curate, much more doth it seem reasonable that the Absence of a Bishop, if it be long or frequent, should be supplied by a Suffragan Bishop. It is a fatal Mistake

cord than we. Others say the same of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches.

To this I answer, that the Concord of the Church of *Scotland* was much greater when it continued under Bishops, than it has been since *Andrew Melvil* inflam'd it with the *Geneva* Government and Discipline. And because the Dissenters would persuade us, that there has been more Union and Concord in this *Scotch* Anti-Episcopal Church, than in the Episcopal Church of *England*; I will give one Instance, that they may see how far this Way

is

Mistake to imagine, that the Care of the Souls of the Laity belongs only to the inferior Clergy, and that the Bishop hath no more to do but only to govern the Clergy, or that a Diocese doth not more want the constant Presence of a Bishop, than any private Parish the Presence of a Priest. And therefore in the Church of *England* before the Reformation, even in the most corrupt Times of Popery, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops attending at Court, or employed by the King in particular Service, constantly maintained Suffragan Bishops in their Dioceses. This Practice was confirmed and entirely settled by an Act of Parliament in the Reign of *Hen. 8.* and from that Time Suffragan Bishops were without Interruption continued in the Diocese of *Canterbury* till the end of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and in some Dioceses till the middle of King *James.* One of the last Suffragan Bishops, if not the last upon the Statute 26 *Hen. 8. c. 14.* was Dr. *Stern*, Suffragan Bishop of *Colchester*, who was suspended for not appearing, as we are told in the Abstract from the Journal of Convocation, 1606. The Suffragan of *Colchester* ordained Dr. *William Bedel*, late Lord Bishop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh.* 'Till I met with this Passage (says the late Bishop *Burnet*) 'I did not think these Suffragans had been continued so long in *England.* How they came to be put down I do not know: It is probable they did ordain all that desired Orders so promiscuously, that the Bishops found it necessary to let them fall. For Complaints were made of this Suffragan, upon which he was threatned with taking away his Commission from him: For tho' they could do nothing but by Delegation from the Bishop, yet the Orders they gave were still valid, even when they transgressed in conferring them. Upon that the Suffragan said a Thing, that was as insolent in him as it was honourable for *Bedel*, that he had ordained a better Man than any the Bishop had ever ordained, namely *Bedel.*' (See the late Bishop *Burnet's* Life of Dr. *William Bedel*, late Lord Bishop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh.*) It were much to be wished, that their Majesties and the most Reverend

is from establishing an Union and Concord ; and that this Parity here pretended, is no other than a meer Pretence, the leading Men against Bishops commonly assuming a greater Authority, and exercising it with greater Absoluteness, and are more impatient of being opposed and contradicted, than any Bishops who are legally invested with Power.

There happen'd a great Division in the Presbytery of St. *Andrews*, about preferring a Minister to the Church of *Luchars*. There were two Pretenders, and *Melvil* with a few more was for one, and the rest, who were three Times as many in Number, were for the other, *Melvil* looking upon himself as an Apostle, and disdain- ing to be over-ruled by the Majority of the Presbytery, left the Place, and with his 6 Presbyters that followed him, made another Synod by himself : And both these Presbyters, like Anti-Popes, issued out their several Pleasures. The Gentlemen of the Parish upon this were divided into Factions; some holding with one, and some with the other, which occasioned great Scandal : And the Heats grew to that Height, that the Presbytery was forced to be divided ; one Part of it to sit at St. *Andrews*,
the

rend and Right Reverend Prelates of the Church would revive the Order, to supply the Want of the Episcopal Function in those Dio- ceses, which are deprived of the Benefit of their proper Bishops, ei- ther through necessary Absence or through Age and Infirmities, and for this there needeth no new Law or Canon in *England*. This is the Wish of the learned Mr. *Henry Wharton*, in his *Defence of Plura- lities*, p. 160.—162. We have Reason to believe *Ireland* was not destitute of this Order ; because there's a very learned Treatise written by the great *James Usher* concerning the *Herenach, Termon* and *Corban*, Lands which were the ancient *Demesns* (or *Mensals* as the *Irish* call them) of the *Chorepiscopi* of both Kingdoms. This is epitomized in the Glossary of Sir *H. Spelman*, who gratefully con- cludes his Discourse on that Subject in the following Words : *Hæ- fufus, ut obscuritati lumen adferam ; quod accendit mihi literarum in- signis Pharus D. Jacobus Midensis Episcopus*. This Book was written ten Years before its Author was made Bishop of *Meath*, and sent to Archbishop *Baneroft*, who presented it to King *James I.* Archbishop *Nicholson's Irish Historical Library*, c. 1. p. 21, 22.

the other at *Couper* ; the one under the Influence of *Melvil*, and the other under that of *Thomas Buchanan* ; so hard it was for one Presbyterial Diocese to hold two topping Presbyters. The Observation upon this, in Archbishop *Spotswood*'s History of the Church of *Scotland* (Book 6. p. 386.) is very remarkable. ' Thus was
' that great Strite pacified which many held to be ominous ; and that the Government which in the Beginning
' did break forth into such Schisms, could not long continue ; for this every Man noted, that of all Men none
' could worse endure Parity, and loved more to command
' than they who had introduced it into the Church.'

Let us now examine the State of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches. As for the *French* Churches, they were several Times in great Danger of being rent in Pieces, by the many Feuds and Dissentions, which daily rose among them ; had not the great and good *Dupleffis* by his Learning and Prudence very frequently appeased their Animosities, and put an End to their Controversies. But after his Death, the Peace of those Churches was very much endangered by a new Controversy about universal Redemption, and the Nature of original Sin ; and the Dissention was not far from a Schism. *Cameron*, tho' he had cleared himself of all Suspicion of Heterodoxy at his Promotion to the Professorship of *Saumur*, was so unfortunate afterwards to be suspected of Heresie : And his Pupils and Followers were not a little perplexed. What had been approv'd by the Synod of *Dort*, as Orthodox Doctrine in the *English* Divines, was now called into Question in *France* ; and what was allow'd in *Cameron* while he was alive, was heretical and pernicious after his Death. (z) It is hardly to be imagined (saith my Author)
' what great Contention this little, and to some, imperceptible Difference did create ; or how many Synods it
' employ'd, *Amyraldus*, *Dailé*, *Blondel*, and several others

(z) *Acts authentiques per Blondel.*

'thers were look'd upon as little better than Hereticks;
 'and their Doctrine about original Sin, condemned in
 'a national Synod at *Charenton*, and an Abjuration of
 'it required of all those that were to enter into holy
 'Orders; and a strict Injunction was laid on all Mi-
 'nisters, upon pain of all the Censures of the Church,
 'not to preach any otherwise of this Point, than accord-
 'ing to the common Opinion.' And all this Stir as
Blondel, p. 50. deduces it, was raised from little private
 Quarrels between some of the Professors; and from the
 Discontents of the University of *Montauban*, that they
 of *Saumur* should be favoured too much in the Distribu-
 tion of such Pensions as the Churches furnished for the
 Maintenance of their Universities; and they thought them-
 selves wrong'd and undervalu'd, because their Salaries were
 less: Thus, we see that lesser Matters than a Bishoprick
 can sometimes disturb the Peace of the Church; and that
 Presbyters as well as Bishops, can prosecute their private
 Quarrels to the hazard of the publick Peace; and that
 there will be Errors, Contentions and Animosities where
 there is no Episcopacy.

If we consult the History of the reformed Churches
 in the united *Netherlands*, we shall be further confirmed
 that Heresie, Schism, and Contention may arise under o-
 ther Forms of Church Government as well as Episcopal;
 and that Parity of Ministers can not remove all Occasions
 of Strife and Disturbance; and many eminent Men of
 that Church are said to be very sensible of this Truth,
 and to look upon Episcopacy as the most effectual Remedy
 in the World for their Divisions. The Church Go-
 vernment of that Country (as a learned Writer (a) ob-
 serves) 'was not established without great Trouble and
 'Difficulty; and occasioned no small Disturbance; the
 'Ministers taking an Authority to themselves of settling
 'the Church as they thought fit, without the Consent
 'and

(a) See a Vindication of the primitive Church, p. 384, 385.

and Concurrence of the Magistrates. The first Synod they held was at *Dort*, assembled without the Permission of the Civil Magistrate, where the *Heilderberg* Catechism was imposed upon all Ministers; and they were farther obliged to subscribe the *Netherland* Confession, and to submit themselves to the Presbyterian Government. [It seems the Bishops are not the only Church Governors in the World that require (b) Subscription and Canonical Obedience.] Nor were the Ministers only bound to subscribe, but all the Lay-Elders and Deacons were to declare, assent, and consent to the Articles of Discipline. The Civil Magistrate was very much offended with these Proceedings, and would by no Means confirm, no, not so much as to take into Consideration the Acts of this Synod: But said they would take care of Religion themselves, and appoint Commissioners to put in and put out Preachers as they should think Expedient; and as for their Consistories and Classes, they declared they knew of no Power they had. The Ministers on the other Side preached up their own Authority and vilified the States calling them in Derision Stakes. But the Effect of this Contention was very sad; for while they were quarrelling about Jurisdiction, the *Spaniards* made great Advances, and took several Towns in *Holland*.

Mr. *Puffendorf* (c) owns, that the Divisions in the *United Provinces* betwixt the (d) *Arminians* and *Contra-*
P *Remonstrants*

(b) See Bingham's *French Churches* Apology, Book 1. c. 3. Book 4. c. 1.

(c) Introduction to the History of *Europe*, p. 230, 231.

(d) The Name of *Arminians* was given them because *Arminius*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, was the first that opposed the then received Sentiments in *Holland* of an absolute Predestination. The Synod of *Dort*, consisting of *Dutch*, *French*, *German*, and *English* Divines, and held in 1618, condemned their Opinions. They were called also *Remonstrants*, from a Writing called a Remonstrance that was presented by them to the States of *Holland*, 1609, wherein they reduced their Doctrines to these five Articles.

Remonstrants were occasioned partly by a State Jealousy, and that the Violence of the Prince of *Orange* against *Barneveldt*, whom he had caused to be put to Death, was so ill resented by many, that the two Factions have ever since taken so firm Root there, that it is not improbable but at last they may occasion the Ruin or Change of the State. What are we to think of the *De Wits* being massacred? Were there then none of these diabolical Vices, Schism, Malice, Ambition, and Persecution? Or is it to this Day observed that the *Dutch* are freer from Passion and Revenge than other Men, and are less debauched, irreligious and immoral than their Neighbours? And yet they ought to be so according to Mr. *Baxter*, since they have no Bishops among them. Indeed there is not such Liberty for the Press in *Holland* as in *England*. Books against the State or Religion bear all the Name of *Cologne*, and if they be very pernicious, they that sell them are punished as well as the Authors if found. Monsieur *Bayle* was turned out of his Professorship in *Rotterdam* for his Free-thinking, and had a Censure put upon his Dictionary.

Bishop *Carleton* (e) told the Divines at the Synod of *Dort*, that the Cause of all their Troubles was because they had no Bishops amongst them, who by their Authority might repress turbulent Spirits that broached Novelty, every Man having Liberty to speak or write what they List, and that as long as there were no Ecclesiastical Men in Authority to repress and censure such contentious

1st. That God in Election and Reprobation had regard on one side to Faith and Perseverance, and on the other side to Incredulity and Impenitence.

2dly. That Christ Jesus died for all Men without Exception.

3dly. That Grace was necessary for the Application of one's self to Good.

4thly. That it did not act in an irresistible Manner.

5thly. That before affirming that the Regenerate cannot totally fall off, this Question ought more accurately to be examined.

(e) Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, l. 12. p. 407.

tious Spirits, their Church could never be without Trouble.

When Episcopacy was abolished in *England*, what a prodigious Swarm of new broached Heresies and Sects arose up all at a Sudden and overspread the Face of the Land. You will read the Names of them in *Heresiography* (*f*) and *Gangrana* (*g*) wrote in those Times. They were about the Number of those reckoned by *Epiphanius*, that is, Sixty. No Nation on the Earth since Christianity, ever saw so dismal a Sight at one Time. Bishop *Sanderson* (*h*) had Reason to cry out ‘ good God !
 ‘ What Monsters of Names and Opinions all alike dread-
 ‘ ful and deformed, but otherwise frightfully different
 ‘ have these last seven Years fruitful of Prodigies foisted
 ‘ into the World, and nourished and cherished under Pre-
 ‘ tence of Reformation.’ The like Complaint does Bishop *Mossom* (*i*) make. How many Heresies there are
 P 2 among

(*f*) The Book entitled, *Heresiography*, was printed A. D. 1645. It gives an Account of the black Swarm of croaking Frogs, that came in at the Door of Toleration during the Schism and Rebellion of Forty one. It was reprinted Anno 1647. The Number of them was prodigious: The Book reckons fifty Sects of several Denominations at that Time, and there are neither Ranters, Quakers, or Muggletonians mentioned. These sprung up afterwards.

(*g*) Mr. *Edwards*, a professed Nonconformist, in his *Gangrana* wrote about 1646, *Part 1. p. 175*, acknowledges: ‘ We in those
 ‘ four last Years have overpast the Deeds of the Prelates, in whose
 ‘ Times never so many nor so great Errors were heard of, much less
 ‘ such Blasphemies and Confusions. We have worse Things among
 ‘ us, more unheard of Doctrines and corrupt Practices than in 80
 ‘ Years before, denying the Scriptures to be the Word of God, de-
 ‘ nyng the Trinity, and the Divinity of Christ, the Immortality
 ‘ of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, Heaven and Hell.

(*h*) (*Deus bone!*) sub specie Reformationis quot nominum & opinionum monstra, nisi quod sunt deformia pariter, alias immane quantum invicem difformia, parturivit, peperit, aluit, fovit prodigiorum terax novissimum hoc septennium. *De leg. hum. caus. eff. praelect. 7.*

(*i*) See his Preacher’s Tripartite, p. 17, 51. See also a Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these

among us passeth my Skill to reckon as much as it doth your Judgments to guess, since we may say of *London* what was once said of *Africa*, *semper aliquid apportat novi*, it is always bringing forth some new Thing, as that Country some new Monster, so this City some new Heresie. Here, at Congregational Meetings, Heresies engender as there, still begetting by their ungodly Mixture of Opinions some monstrous new Heresie, so that to give you a View of all the Sects of our Age, were to lead you through all *Africa*. And as before, we could pass through that Country there would be some new Monster, (so confident I am) before we could well pass thorow these Sects, there would be some new Opinion we had not met with, some mungrel Heresie new hatch'd which we thought not of. O how do the Anabaptists by a corrupt Mixture of Opinions (as those unnatural Beasts by a corrupt Mixture of Seeds) how do they engender with the *Novatians*, and beget a mishaped Brood called *Separatists*? Again, how do they engender with the *Apostolici*, and beget another as deformed a Brood called *Levellers*? They engender with *Donatus*, and are called (k) *Brownists*, they engender with *Montanus*,

these Times, and the Toleration of them subscribed by the Ministers of Christ within the Province of *London*, December 14, 1647. Now from those who had been most active in the Extirpation of Episcopacy, we have this remarkable Complaint.

When we look upon the present rueful, deplorable, and deformed Face of the Affairs of Religion as they stand at this Day, our Spirits are amazed, our Hearts are overwhelmed, our Words are swallowed up. How shall we speak? How shall we hold our peace? And yet where shall we pour out our Complaint? Instead of an Establishment of Faith and Truth, we swarm with noisome Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies; instead of Unity and Uniformity in Matters of Religion, we are torn in Pieces with destructive Schisms, Separations, Divisions and Subdivisions; instead of true Piety and the Power of Godliness, we have open'd the very Flood-gates to all Impiety and Prophaness; instead of submitting to the Government of Christ, we walk in a Christless Looseness and Licentiousness; instead of a Reformation, we may say with Sighs, what our Enemies heretofore said of us with Scorn, *We have a Deformation in Religion*.

(k) *Brown*, the Ringleader of the Separation in *England* from whom they were called *Brownists*, did afterwards return, conform himself,

Montanus, and are called *Enthusiasts*, they engender with *Cerintus*, and are called *Millenarians*, they engender with *Priscillianus*, and are called *Familists*, and upon other prophane and heretical Mixtures are engendered, the *Antinomians*, the *Adamites*, the *Libertines* with many, very many others too numerous to be numbered, and too horrid to be mentioned. One of the Fruits (says a noble *Venetian* (l) that resided at *London* in those Times) of this blessed Parliament and of these two Sectaries (Presbyterians and (m) Independents) is, that they made more Jews and Atheists

himself, and for many Years after enjoyed a good Benefice. May all those who have followed him in the Way of Separation, learn by his Example to return into the Bosom of the Church !

(l) See a Letter to Cardinal *Barbarine*, translated and printed 1648.

(m) The Independents neither associated with the Presbyterians, nor embraced the Phrenesies of the Anabaptists; who under the Name and Notion of Independents, beat the Presbyterians with their own Weapon. The Presbyterian abolisheth the publick Liturgy, and takes away all regular Ordination, brings in the Directory, and sets up Lay-Elders; and all upon this Ground, that what they did was conformed to the Doctrine of the Scriptures, of whose Interpretation they themselves would be Judges. But at the Heels of the Presbyterian follows close the Independent, and treading his Steps at least over-reacheth him in his Design, and carries away his *Helena* from him; he pulls down the Classes and the Synod as human Inventions and Remains of Anti-christ, denying that by the Scriptures any Presbyters or Persons whatsoever ought to have Power over the Churches of Christ, which are by Scripture Rule independent in their Government to any secular or Ecclesiastical Power whatsoever: And for this they urge the Scripture Texts with much Heat of Contention against the Presbytery, pleading this their common Ground of interpreting Scripture by the Spirit, whose Inspirations and Revelations they pretend to above what the Presbytery dare own or acknowledge. As then in joining the Authority of the Scripture with the Judgment of the Church was our Reformation, so it is Satan's Subtlety and the Jesuits Design, both acting by the Enthusiast, that in dividing the Judgment of the Church from the Authority of the Scriptures may be our Ruin. See Bishop *Mossom's Preacher Tripartite*, p. 108. Dr. *Robert Mossom* is mentioned as a silenced, plundered, and persecuted Minister by Dr. *Ken*, the late Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, in his Funeral Sermon for the Lady *Margaret Maynard*. He was in 1662 made Prebendary of *Knarborough*

Athiests than I think there is in all *Europe* besides. But when Episcopacy was restored with the banished King. *A. D.* 1660. these all (except three or four of chief Name) instantly disappeared as Mists before the Sun. So true in Fact did St. *Jerom's* Reasoning prove, that to suppress Heresie and Schism, there was a Necessity of a superior (n) Order to Presbyters in the Church of God,
ad

Knaresborough in the Church of *York*, and afterwards Dean of *Christ-Church, Dublin*. Anno Dom, 1666. he was promoted to the See of *Derry*, where he died 1679; Grandfather to my very good Friend Dr. *Robert Mossom*, Dean of *St. Canice, Kilkenny*, and Vicar General of the Diocese of *Offory*, &c.

(n) Hear the Observation made by the Author of the *Turkish Spy*: A Man who under the Disguise of a Mahometan has taken occasion to undermine Christianity in its most fundamental Articles, and whilst he would appear a Bigot for the Alcoran, endeavours to expose that as well as the Gospel; and plainly discovers himself an Infidel as to all revealed Religion, and to be indeed a meer Deist. Now this Gentleman, in a Letter to the Mufti, (asis pretended, *Turkish Spy*, vol. 2. p. 186.) shews plainly that there is no subverting Christianity till Episcopacy is first abolished. 'The Christian Church (says he) seems to be a stately Building, whereof Prelacy is the Corner Stone; if this were removed, all would fall to the Ground. That which they call the Hierarchy, if it could once be dissolved or pulled down, we should soon see all *Christendom* laid in Ruins. This Hierarchy is a gradual Subordination of Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, the inferior depending on the superior, and all deriving their Orders and Dignities from their chief Patriarchs. These are the Links which compose that Chain that fastens *Christendom* together; were this once broke, the united Interest of *Europe* would soon fall to Pieces. The Way must be by beginning at the lowermost Link; could but the Priests be rendered independent on the Bishops, and on each other, it would be a fair Step to the dismantling of the Outworks, these Priests drawing infinite Numbers of People after them, as it is apparent in *Geneva, Holland, Switzerland*, and other Places, where they have quite abolished the Order and Authority of Bishops. And it is observable, that none of those forementioned Countries, since that Time, have ever been instrumental in opposing the victorious Arms of the *Ottoman Empire*; as if with the Downfal of Episcopacy, the Charm were dissipated, which had for some Ages precipitated these Nations (among others) to a rash and obstinate Resistance of that Force, which is destined by Fate to conquer and reform the World. Weigh well this Thought, and thou wilt find
that

ad quem omnis Ecclesia cura pertineret, & schismatum semina tollerentur.

But here it is probable, a Question may be asked, May not the Unity of the Church be maintained by People professing the same Faith, tho' they do not live under the the Government of Bishops?

Before I can determine how the Unity of the Catholick Church may be maintained, it will not be amiss to consider what is meant by this Article of our Creed, *I believe in the holy Catholick Church.* The Bishop with his Clergy, and the People under his District, make a particular

that the Order of Bishops is essential and necessary to the good State of *Christendom*, and that the only Way for the Mussulmen to undermine all *Europe* will be to supplant this Order, and introduce an Ecclesiastical Independency among the Priests, by which means every one shall assume to himself, not only his proper Fragment of the torn Dignity, but the whole fundamental Power of a Bishop; taking upon him to do those Offices, which before it was not accounted lawful for any but a mitred Head to perform. Hence in time will follow innumerable Inconveniencies, Distastes, and Broils, and perhaps as many Schisms as there are particular Priests to head them; since every one will be apt to think himself capable of dictating to all the rest, and judge it below him to receive the Law from any. Thus will there be a clear Stage for Ambition, Avarice, and Lust to act their Parts upon: And when by the Craft of designing Men, the Superstition of Bigots, and the Easiness of the credulous, the greatest Part shall be so divided, that it will be difficult to find two Men of the same Mind in Articles of Faith, it will then be easy, either by the intelligible Reasons of the Alcoran, or the more cogent Arguments of the Sword, to plant the true and undefiled Faith in these Countries.

The Truth is, this Thought of his deserves, as he says, to be well weighed, not out of Fear of Mussulmen (who, God be thanked, are yet at a good Distance from us) but with respect to his Brethren the Deists, for whose sake the Book was written, and who are wise enough to see that there is no overthrowing Christianity without beginning at Episcopacy; and therefore in all their Efforts for the Introduction of Infidelity, they fail not to make some Reflection on the Hierarchy: For could they once get that Obstacle removed, they might possibly have some fair Hopes of succeeding in their Designs:

cular Church according to *Ignatius, Ep. ad Smyrn.* Sect. 8. where having asserted nothing to be valid which is done in the Church without the Bishop's Consent, he adds, *ὅπως ἂν Φανῇ ὁ εἰσισκοπὸς ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἕως ὥστε ὅπως ἂν ᾖ Χρῖστος Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.* So that the Bishop is the Standard of our Christian Altars; that where he is, there the Peculium is to assemble, and they only who do so, can by the Law of Christianity be properly called the Church. Which Words, together with the Context, make it evident I think beyond dispute, that the Martyr concluded, that a particular Church could be no more without it's particular Bishop, than the Church Catholick (o) could be without it's Catholick or universal Bishop Christ Jesus. This likewise is confirmed further by another primitive Bishop and Martyr, the holy *Cyprian* (p) who thus declares, *Et illi sunt*

(o) For the better understanding of what is meant by the Catholick Church, I refer the Reader to the late Mr. *Lestly's* Answer to the Bishop of *Meaux*, in the first Volume of his Works, p. 571 to 581, Folio. It is likewise printed in the first Collection of Dr. *Hickes's* *Controversial Letters*, p. 303 to 325.

(p) [Episcopum in Ecclesia esse & Ecclesiam in Episcopo. Ep. 66.] Ad unitatem Ecclesiæ omnino facit, ut Episcopus nec per hæresin, nec ob idolatriam sit lapsus, aut ob aliam noxam communionis jure exclusus: & ut plebs Episcopo suo adhæreat; si quidem qui cum Episcopo non est, utique in Ecclesia non est, nec cum Christo. Quæ quidem ab Ignatio θεολόγῳ videntur desumpta. [The Bishop is in the Church and the Church in the Bishop.] Where these two were separated, there was a Schism. If the Bishop went over to Heresy or Schism, or lapsed in Time of Persecution, a Rent was made, and the other Bishops of the Catholick Church were then to shew themselves interested in the whole, by giving notice to the Flock of such a Bishop's Error, according to the Principle laid down in the *Treatise Of the Unity of the Church*. Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum Pars tenetur. *In solidum* is a Law-Phrase, and signifies, that Part of this one Episcopacy is so committed to every single Bishop, that he is nevertheless charged with taking Care of the whole Church. Upon this Foundation of each Bishop being interested in the whole Church, all the coercive Power of Discipline stands which was exercised over any by the rest. For as the Words in *solidum* are forensick, they allude to the Case of divers Contractors, each of which was bound not only for his proportionable

*sunt Ecclesia, plebs sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo Grex
adharens unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse & Eccle-
siam in Episcopo, & si quis cum Episcopo non sit, in Ecclesia
non esse,*

‘ The People united to the Bishop, the Flock
‘ adhering to the Pastor, they are the Church : For which
‘ Reason you ought to know that the Bishop is in the
‘ Church, and the Church in the Bishop, and whoso is
‘ not with his Bishop, is not in the Church.’ Now if a
Bishop with his particular Flock constitutes a particular
Church, then a Collection of all such particular Churches
must make up the whole Catholick Church, of which
Christ only is the Head. So that according to this primi-
tive Definition of the Catholick Church, they who dis-
own Episcopal Government can be no (q) Members of it.

Q

For

tionable Part, but if the rest failed, was to make good the whole :
This St. Cyprian applies to the Episcopate. There was one Flock
and one Government of it committed indeed to divers Persons, but
so, that each of those to whom it was committed had an Interest in
the whole, and an Obligation incumbent on him to extend his Care
to the whole as Opportunity should offer, tho’ for Order Sake, and
for the more convenient Discharge of his Duty to the whole, each
had a peculiar District assigned to him, wherein he was to exercise a
more particular Jurisdiction.

(q) From this Assertion I know it will be inferred, that I exclude
the reformed Churches abroad from being Part of the Catholick
Church.

To this I answer, that they neither do, nor ever did hold Episco-
pacy to be unlawful; and therefore so long as they do not renounce
Episcopacy, but still continue in Community with other Churches
that enjoy it, they ought to be looked upon and communicated
with as true (tho’ maimed) Members of the Catholick Church.
We make a Difference between the foreign reformed Churches
and our Dissenters at home, as indeed their Case is very far from
being the same; since every body will allow that there is a great
deal of Difference betwixt owning the Episcopacy and continuing
in Communion with other Churches that enjoy it, and rejecting E-
piscopacy and separating from the Communion of it, and yet every
body knows this latter is the Case of our Dissenters, as the former
is the Case of the reformed Churches. They who without Preju-
dice have read over the most ancient Christian Writers that now re-
main, very well know that Episcopal Government, such as that in
the South Part of Great Britain prevailed every where in the Age
immediately

For since the Catholick Church is a visible Society, it must be under a visible Government, and therefore, the Union of the Members by the Sacraments, and the Profession of the same Faith under subordinate Governors, is a necessary Part of the Union of the Catholick Church. And, that this was *St. Cyprian's* Notion of the Unity of the

immediately after the Apostles; whence we may collect that it was of Apostolical Institution. The other which they call Presbyterian was instituted in many Places of *France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland*, by those who in the sixteenth Century made a Separation from the Church of *Rome*. They who read with Attention the History of that Century, are fully satisfied that this Form of Government was introduced for this Reason only, because the Bishops would not allow to them who contended the Doctrine and Manners of Christians stood in need of a necessary Amendment, that those Things were to be reformed which they complained were corrupted. Otherwise if the Bishops every where at that Time had been willing to do of their own accord what was not long after done in *England*, that Government had prevailed even to this Day amongst all those who separated from the *Romish* Church; and the numberless Calamities which happened when all Things were disturbed and confounded, had been prevented. See the *Dean of Sarum's Translation of Le Clerc's Grotius*, p. 321, 322.

The Author of *Foxes and Firebrands*, Part 2. p. 11. gives us great Reason to believe, that Episcopacy had been established in all the reformed Churches, if the Artifices of the Papists had not hindered it. As appears from a Memorandum taken out of Sir *Henry Sidney's* Book, called, *The Romish Policies*, Num. 6. p. 37. in Folio, a Manuscript belonging to Archbishop *Usher*. This noble Person (who was in great Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in her Reign was Knight of the Garter, and besides other Preferments twice admitted to be Deputy of *Ireland*) amongst others of his Discourses (most of which continue still in Manuscript) has these Words: ' Her Royal Highness giving me the Freedom to search into the Affairs of State, ever since her Royal Father's denying the Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome*; amongst others of this Sort I found a Letter directed to the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Rochester*; Part of the Contents being for my purpose be these, as they were translated out of the *Low Dutch*.

" *Edward*, (Son of *Henry* the Heretick, King of *England*,) by his crafty and politick Council, hath absolutely brought in Heresy, which if not by Art or other Endeavours speedily overthrown and made infamous, all other foreign Hereticks will unite with your new Heresies now amongst yourselves lately planted, and

the Church, is evident from *Ep. 55. Quod vero ad Novatiani personam attinet, frater charissime, de quo desiderasti tibi scribi quam Hæresin introduxisset scias nos primo in loco, nec curiosos esse debere quid ille doceat cum foris doceat.* ‘ As to the Person of *Novatian* (r) Dear Brother,

Q 2

[meaning

“ to have Bishops as you have ; and it is the Opinion of our learned
 “ Men now at *Trent*, that the Schisms in *England*, by *Edward's*
 “ Council established, will reclaim all the foreign Sects into their
 “ Discipline, and thereby be one Body united. For *Calvin*, *Bul-*
 “ *linger*, and others, have wrote unto *Edward* to offer their Service
 “ to assist and unite ; also, to make *Edward* and his Heirs their
 “ chief Defender, and so have Bishops as well as *England*, which,
 “ if it came to pass that heretick Bishops be so near, and spread
 “ abroad, *Rome* and the Clergy utterly falls. You must therefore
 “ make these Overtures of theirs odious to *Edward* and his Council.
 “ Receive *N. S.* and *E. L.* from *Rotterdam* ; their Lessons are taught
 “ them ; take you their Parts, if checked by the other Hereticks ;
 “ for these be for re-baptizing, and not for Infant Baptism : Their
 “ Doctrine is for a future Monarchy on Earth after Death, which
 “ will please the ordinary Kind well, and dash the other that rageth
 “ now amongst you. Reverend Fathers, it is left to you to assist
 “ and to those you know are sure to the Mother-Church.”

From Delph, the 4th Ide of May,
 Anno Christi 1549.

D. G.

‘ Her Highness one Day discoursing of Matters in this Kind, I told
 ‘ her of this Paper, at Sight whereof she was startled ; the Letter
 ‘ being amongst her Sister's Papers, which caused her to exprets
 ‘ these very Words : “ I had rather than a Year's Revenue that my
 “ Brother *Edward* and his Council had seen this Letter ; nay, rather
 “ than twice my Revenue I had seen it sooner ; ” ‘ and so caused
 ‘ me to lay it where I found it. The Council, upon her Highness's
 ‘ Discourse, concluded, that *Calvin* would have established Epis-
 ‘ copacy beyond Seas had he been consulted herein ; and that the
 ‘ Hindrance of this Overture caused much Animosity between Re-
 ‘ formers.’

(r) The *Novatians* and *Donatists* of old professed the same main
 and fundamental Articles of Faith which the Catholicks profess'd,
 but were, notwithstanding, out of the Communion of the Christian
 Church, as having openly violated those Laws which constitute it a
 Church. *St. Augustin* has many Passages to this Purpose: *Nobiscum*
ostis (Donatista) in baptismo, in symbolo, in ceteris dominicis sacra-
mentis ; in spiritu autem unitatis & vinculo pacis, in ipsa denique catho-
lica

[meaning *Antonian* a Bishop of *Numidia*] ‘ concerning
 ‘ whom, you desire to know from me what Hereſie he
 ‘ hath introduced into the Church, it doth not, I think,
 ‘ become us to be curious in our Enquiries after his Do-
 ‘ rine, ſince whatever he may teach, he teaches it out of
 ‘ the Church.’ It was not ſufficient to agree in the ſame
 Articles of Faith, if St. *Cyprian* may be credited, whilſt
 any Man quarrel’d with the Diſcipline of the Church,
 and thereupon divided from her Communion. This was
 his avowed Opinion, which he hath here and elſewhere
 declared with all poſſible Plainneſs : And it were much to
 be wiſhed that they who leſſen the guilt of Schiſm in
 ſuch as agree the Points of Doctrine with the Church from
 which they ſeparate, would be perſuaded to conſider
 theſe primitive Notions of Catholick Unity. This tho’
 a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence, is either ſo little
 underſtood or ſo little conſidered, that it will not be amiſs
 to explain it by a familiar Compariſon. The acute Dr.
Sherlock in his Vindication of the Defence of Dr. *Stilling-
 fleet*, Edit. Lond. Anno 1682. p. 36. gives us a very ap-
 poſite Similitude.

‘ Suppose we (ſays he) the whole World were one Fa-
 ‘ mily, or one Kingdom, in which every particular Man
 ‘ according to his Rank or Station enjoys equal Privileges.
 ‘ In this Caſe the Neceſſity of Affairs would require, that
 ‘ Men ſhould live in diſtin& Houſes and diſtin& Coun-
 ‘ tries as they do now all the World over. But yet, if
 ‘ every Man enjoyed the ſame Liberty and Privileges
 ‘ wherever he went, as he does in his own Houſe and
 ‘ Country, the whole world would be but one great family
 ‘ and

lica Eccleſia nobiſcum non eſtis. Aug. Ep. 4. *Quisquis ab hac catho-
 lica Eccleſia fuerit ſeparatus, quanquam laudabiliter ſe vivere exiſtimet,
 hoc ſolo ſcelere, quod a Chriſti unitate diſjunctus eſt, non habebit vitam,
 ſed ira Dei manet ſuper eum.* Ep. 9. 141. Ed. Benedi&. ‘ Whoever
 ‘ is ſeparated from the Catholick Church, however Praise-worthy
 ‘ he may think himſelf to live in other Reſpects, yet by Reaſon of
 ‘ this one Wickedneſs, that he is diſjoined from the Unity of Chriſt,
 ‘ he ſhall not have Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him.’

' and universal Kingdom. And whosoever should resolve
 ' to live by himself and not to receive any others into his
 ' Family, nor allow them the Liberty of his House,
 ' would be guilty of making a Schism in this great Fami-
 ' ly of the World: And what Nation soever should
 ' deny the Rights and Privileges of natural Subjects to the
 ' Inhabitants of other Countries, would make a Schism,
 ' and rent itself from the universal Kingdom. Thus it
 ' is here: The Church of Christ is but one Body, one
 ' Church, one Household and Family, one Kingdom;
 ' and therefore tho' the Necessity of Affairs requires that
 ' Neighbour Christians combine themselves into particu-
 ' lar Churches and particular Congregations, as the World
 ' is divided into particular Families and Kingdoms, yet
 ' every Christian by Virtue of his Christianity hath the
 ' same Right and Privilege, and the same Obligation to
 ' Communion, as Occasion serves, with all the Churches
 ' in the World, that he hath with that particular Church
 ' wherein he lives. Wherever he removes his Dwelling,
 ' whatever Church he goes to, he is still in the same Fami-
 ' ly, the same Kingdom, and the same Church.

Accordingly we find in Ecclesiastical (f) History, that
 the publick Acts of any one Church are confirmed by the
 Church

(f) Ita ratum erat singularis alicujus præfulis judicium
 niverfum, qua pateret, Christianum orbem vim obtin-
 dronici & Thoantis & participum eorum excommu-
 nefius, Ep. 58. πρὸς τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ.

per U-
 In An-
 ait Sy-

Ἡ πολυμάχῃς Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχῶς δια-
 τάττεται. Ἀνδρονίκῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Θόαντι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μηδὲν ἀνοιγνύσθαι
 τέμενος τῷ Θεῷ. Ἀπὸ αὐτοῖς ἱερὸς ἀποκελεύσθω, καὶ σιγὴ καὶ περίεσλος, ὡς
 ἐν τῷ Διαβόλῳ μέρος ἐν παραδείῳ. Εἰ δὲ τις ὡς, μικροπολίτην ἀποσβεβα-
 λίσαι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ δέξεται τῆς ἀποκηρύκτες, αὐτῆς ὡς ὡς ἀνάγκη τῇ
 πένητι πείθεσθαι, ἵσω χρίσας τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἢ μίαν ὁ χριστὸς εἶναι ἐκτεταται.
 Ὅδε τοῖς τοῖς εἴτε λεύιτης ἐστὶν εἴτε πρεσβύτερος εἴτε Ἐπίσκοπος παρ' ἡμῶν
 ἐν Ἀνδρονίκῳ μοῖρα τεταχεται, καὶ ὅτε ἐμβαλῶμεν αὐτῷ δεξιὰν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῆς σιτησόμεθα ὁ πολλὸν δὲ δεήσομεν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἀποβήτης τελετῆς.
 τοῖς ἐβελήσασιν ἔχειν μερίδα μετὰ Ἀνδρονίκῳ καὶ Θόαντος. This Passage is
 illustrated by the late learned Mr. Bingham in his *Antiquities of the*
Christian Church, Vol. 7. Book 16, C. 2. Sect. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.
 C. 7.

Church universal. This appears from the Instance we have from *Synesius*, who in his Epistle concerning *Andronicus*, writes thus, ' The Church of *Ptolemais*, sends ' these Orders to her Sisters all over the World. Let no ' Temple

C. 7. Sect. 2. Quinimo Marcion a patre suo Sinopenfi præfule Ecclesiæ pulsus, cum a pontifice Romano communioni restitui peteret, responsum tulit, ἡ δυνάμεθα ἀνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν τιμῶν, πατρὸς, οὐ τὸ τοιοῦτον. Μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις, μία ἡ ὁμολογία καὶ ἡ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δέσσει. *Epiph. Her. 42. Sect. 1.* Ne vero in tyrannidem abiret hæc exors Episcoporum potestas, synodibus quotannis fuerant congregandæ, nimirum, ut ait Zonaras in Can. 37. Apostolorum, διὰ τῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀφορισμοῦς ὑποκαλλομένων, εἰ ἀτιμῶνται τῶν ἀφορίσαντων. Tempus quando convenerant maxime solenne erat statim post pascha. *Cyp. Ep. 52. ad Pamelij, Num. 55.* Hanc præsci juris ecclesiastici hypotyposin libentius proponit doctissimus Fell Episcopus, non ita pridem Oxoniensis, quia lucem videtur allatura, non modo tractatui de Unitate Ecclesiæ, sed sequenti etiam de lapsis. And here I must beg leave to differ a little from the learned Bishop Fell in the History of Marcion as Epiphanius gives it, *Her. 42. Sect. 1, 2.* Marcion, being for his Badness excommunicated by his own Father, the Bishop of Sinope, and finding his Father inflexible in that Matter, came to Rome upon the Death of Hyginus the 8th. Bishop of that City, and applied to the Presbyters there, earnestly beseeching them to receive him into their Communion, thinking, that this once obtained, he might stand fair for the vacant Bishoprick: But they rejected him, and they did it for this Reason; he was excommunicated by a Bishop of the Catholick Church, and the fundamental Laws of Catholick Communion forbade them to communicate with Excommunicates without the Allowance of the Bishop which had excommunicated them. Here we see the true Spirit of primitive Discipline. Marcion's Father was Bishop of the Catholick Church, and one who was remarkable for the exact Discharge of the Episcopal Office, as Epiphanius words it. He had exactly the same Power which Bishops in after Times had; he had the Power of Excommunication just as Synesius had it. Those whom he excommunicated could not be admitted to Communion by any other Bishop; and we have him fairly using the above-mentioned Right or Privilege of a Bishop in sending his circular Letters to the other Churches to give them an Account of his Discipline, and not only so, but we find Hyginus dead, and the See vacant, when Marcion came to Rome, and we find him applying to the Presbyters, and ambitious to be advanced to the Bishoprick; and all this happen'd, even by Blondel's Calculation, about the Year 145, 146; but by the more accurate Calculations of the admirable Bishop

• Temple of God be open to *Andronicus* and his Adhe-
 • rents, nor to *Thoas* and his. Let every holy Place be
 • shut against them, and every Temple and Fold. The
 • Devil has no Part in Paradise. But if any Man despise
 • this

* *Pearson* and *Mr. Dodwell*, about the Year 127, without Question before the Year 130. And this Instance, as urged by *Bellarmino* in Favour of the Pope's Supremacy, is thus answered by *Dr. + Barrow* in his admirable Discourse on that Subject. The Truth was, that *Marcion*, for having corrupted a Maid, was by his own Father, Bishop of *Sinope*, driven from the Church; whereupon he did thence fly to *Rome*, there begging Admittance to Communion, but none did grant it, at which he expostulating, they did reply, We cannot without the Permission of thy honourable Father do this; for there is one Faith and one Concord, and we cannot cross thy Father, our good Fellow Minister. This was the Case and Issue: And is it not strange this should be produced for an Appeal, which was only a Supplication of a fugitive Criminal to be admitted to Communion; and wherein is disclaimed any Power to thwart the Judgment of a particular Bishop or Judge upon Account of Unity in common Faith and Peace; should the Pope return the same Answer to every Appellant, what would become of his Privilege? so that they must give us leave to retort this as a pregnant Instance against their Pretence.

* *Dr. Thane*, Bishop *Pearson's* Kinsman, after his Lordship's Death, being desirous for the Benefit of the learned World to publish the Bishop's Lectures on the *Acts of the Apostles*, which he read when *Margaret* Professor in *Cambridge*; and also his learned Discourse on the first Bishops of *Rome*, which he found in some Places imperfect: He knew not any Person to whom he could better apply himself for filling up the *Lacunæ*, and the adding of what might render the Work compleat, than his Friend *Mr. Dodwell*. Who accordingly being willing to gratify his Friend, oblige the Publick, and consult the Honour of the deceased Author, undertook it. *Dr. Batley's* Imprimatur bears Date September 9, 1686. See *Mr. Brokesby's Life of Mr. Dodwell, &c.* c. 15. p. 132, 133.

† The Pretence of the Pope's Supremacy is so shamefully exposed and confuted in the learned *Dr. Barrow's* excellent Treatise, as cannot but give abundant Satisfaction to any intelligent and impartial Reader. And this is done with such Strength of Reason and such full Proof from Antiquity, that I am apt to think there will scarce be found any of the Champions for the *Romish* Cause (as bold Men as they are) so hardy and impudent as to attempt the returning any Answer to that his most solid and impregnable Discourse.

' this as the Church of a small City, and shall receive those
 ' whom he has excommunicated, as if there were no Ne-
 ' cessity of obeying a poor [Church] let him know that
 ' he has divided the Church which Christ will have to be
 ' one, and such a one, whether he be a Deacon or a Priest,
 ' or a Bishop, shall by us be esteemed no otherwise than
 ' *Andronicus* himself, and we will neither give him the
 ' Right Hand (of Fellowship) nor ever eat with him at
 ' the same Table, and we will be very far from partaking
 ' of the ineffable Mystery with such as are willing to par-
 ' take with *Andronicus* and *Thoas*.' This is the true Spi-
 rit of ancient Discipline, and therefore to prevent Abuses
 of this Kind, when any considerable Persons were excom-
 municated, they sent Advice of it to other Churches, and
 where there was no Notice given, they would not receive
 any Travellers whether Lay or Clergy into the Com-
 munion of the Church where they came, till they pro-
 duced their formed or communicatory Letters from the
 Church from whence they came, that thereby they might
 know whether they were owned by the Church or were in
 Communion with it.

Whoever considers the Constitution of the ancient
 Collegues in the *Roman* Empire, will find that every Col-
 league was supreme in his own District, and that his Fellow-
 Emperors were obliged to ratify and confirm his Acts.
 And yet in Matters which concern the whole Empire,
 each was obliged to act by the Consent of his Fellows,
 which yet did not make the *Roman* Empire two or three
 Empires according to the Number of Emperors, for it
 still continued one Body. And thus it is in the Church:
 The Government that comes nearest this, seems to be that
 of the Cantons in *Switzerland*, each Canton is supreme in
 itself, and yet they act by common Consent in Things
 which concern the whole Body, and are reckoned one
 State and Polity, without any other temporal governing
 Head, which in some Measure resembles the Unity of the
 Church. If the Subjects of one Canton when they re-
 move into another may immediately challenge without
 any

any Naturalization all the Privileges of free Denizens, a
 if born in that Canton to which they come, this brings
 the Resemblance yet nearer; for this in earnest makes
 them one Body and People, and answers that Commu-
 nion that is between Churches. Sir *William (r) Temple*
 gives us in effect the same Description of the United Pro-
 vinces in the *Netherlands*. And this very Similitude of
 the *Netherlands* is made use of by Dr. *Barrow*, in his ad-
 mirable Discourse concerning the *Unity of the Church*.
 It is true, that the Bishops of several adjacent Churches
 did use to meet upon Emergencies (concerning the Main-
 tenance of Truth, Order, and Peace; concerning Settle-
 ment and Approbation of Pastors, &c.) to consult and
 conclude upon Expedients for attaining such Ends; this
 probably they did at first in a free Way, without Rule,
 according to Occasion as Prudence suggested; but after-
 wards by Confederation and Consent, those Conventions
 were formed into Method, and regulated by certain Or-
 ders established by Consent, whence did arise an Eccle-
 siastical Unity of Government within certain Precincts
 much like that of the United States in the (n) *Netherlands*;

R

the

(r) Of which Book hear the late Bishop *Burnet's* Character in a
 Letter from *Nimmeguen*, the 20th of May, 1686.

' I will not say one Word of the Country to which I am now
 ' come. For as I know that is needless to you on many Accounts,
 ' so a Picture that I see in the Stadhouse puts me in mind of the per-
 ' fectest Book of its Kind that is perhaps in being; for Sir *William*
 ' *Temple*, whose Picture hangeth here at the upper End of the Pleni-
 ' potentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty at *Nimmeguen*, hath
 ' indeed set a Pattern to the World, which is done with such Life, that
 ' may justly make others blush to copy after it, since it must be ac-
 ' knowledged, that if we had as perfect an Account of other Places
 ' as he hath given us of the least, but yet one of the noblest Parcels
 ' of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless Thing, un-
 ' less it was for Diversion; since one findeth no further Occasion
 ' for his Curiosity in this Country than what is fully satisfied by his
 ' rare Performance.' See the late Bishop *Burnet's Letters*, &c. p. 299.

(u) In fœderato Belgio, ubi plus plebi in pastorum electione tri-
 bui solet quam in alijs Rebus publicis, in quibus sub Magistratu Re-
 formato vivitur, multis tamen locis jus patronatus obtinet, (nec
 synodis quidem improbantibus,) perinde atque apud nos in Anglia,
Schook. Exercit. de Jure Patronatus.

the which Course was very prudential and useful for preserving the Truth of Religion and Unity of Faith against heretical Devices springing up in that free Age ; for maintaining Concord and good Correspondence among Christians, together with an Harmony in Manners and Discipline ; for that otherwise *Christendom* would have been shattered and crumbled into numberless Parties, discordant in Opinion and Practice, and consequently alienated in Affection ; which inevitably among most Men doth follow Difference of Opinion and Manners ; so that in short Time it would not have appeared what Christianity was, and consequently the Religion being overgrown with Differences and Discords must have perished. From whence it appears, that the Unity of the Church was preserved by the brotherly Concord of Bishops assembled in Ecclesiastical Synods, which Concord they at other Times maintained by three Kind of Letters. (x)

I. Εἰρήνικαί,

(x) In more positum erat, ut Episcopi præsertim, vero magnarum sedium, cum in sede Episcopali collocati essent, scriberent de onere sibi imposito & de ea fide quam confiterentur literas ad alios Episcopos quas appellabant *Συνοδικὰς* Synodicas, item *Ἐκθρονιστικὰς* Inthronisticas, qua indigitatione denotantur apud Evagrium, l. 4. c. 4. Niceph. l. 17. c. 2. Ex literæ si orthodoxam confessionem continerent, recipiebantur ab orthodoxis Episcopis ad quos missæ erant, & in fraternæ communionis testimonium rescribebant Episcopi *ἀντισυνοδικὰ*, i. e. reciproca synodica sive literas *ἀμοιβαιδὰς* Amæbæas, id est, responsorias per quas veluti dextras dabant societatis. Sin autem doctrinam exhiberent a veritate alienam, rejiciebantur ab Episcopis catholicis, & ab eis tantum recipiebantur qui ejusdem erant sententiæ. Misit ejusmodi literas Antiochenus ad omnes Patriarchas, recipiebantur autem tantum Alexandriæ, alijs eas rejicientibus, propterea quod in eis Severus anathema diceret synodo Chalcedonensi, id quod etiam indies factitabat, ut referunt Evagrius & Nicephorus locis modo indicatis. *Vide Forbesij Instructionum Theologicarum*, l. 3. c. 17. l. 5. c. 19. p. 239. Dr. John Forbes, Son to Dr. Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen, was Professor of Divinity in the College of Aberdeen : He was one of the best Scholars Scotland ever bred, as will appear to all that ever read his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*, which the unhappy Times suffered him not to finish, to the great regret of all learned Men : For if he had been suffered to have enjoyed the Privacies of his Retirement and Study to give us the second Volume, it had been the greatest treasure of theological Learning that perhaps the World has yet seen.

1. Εἰρήνικαί, *Letters of Peace and Congratulation*, which one Bishop sent to another by such of the Clergy as were going into distant Dioceses, in order to maintain a good Concord and Agreement between them.

2. Ἀπολυτικά, *Letters dimissory*, whereby Leave was given to Persons going into another Diocese, either to be ordained by the Bishop of the Place, or if ordained already, to be admitted and incorporated into the Clergy of the Church.

3. Συστατικά, *Letters commendatory*, which were granted to the Clergy when they went into another Diocese, that they might be employed in the Office whereunto they had been ordained, or granted to all other (whether Clergy or Laity) who were going to travel, as Tickets of Hospitality, that wherever they came, upon producing these Letters they might be known to be Catholicks and Orthodox, and as such received and entertained. St. Paul mentions them, 2 Cor. 3. 1. and it is not easy to be conceived how Discipline can be restored but by the reviving of this Practice. 'Tis surely irregular to admit all Chance-comers to the Communion, who, for ought we know, may stand excommunicated by their own Bishop. The 12th Apostolical Canon is expressly to this purpose:

Ἐἰ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφορισμένος ᾗτοι ἄδεκτος ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος καὶ ὁ δεχθεὶς. Ἐἰ δὲ τις ἀφορισμένος εἴη (γ) ἐπιτείνεσθω αὐτῷ ὁ ἀφορισμὸς ὡς ψευσαμένῳ καὶ ἀπατήσαντι Ἐκκλησίαν Θεῶν. 'If any Clergyman or Layman being suspended from Communion, shall remove and be received in another City, without commendatory Letters, let them who receive him be suspended from Communion, and he who is so received; but if he were be-

R 2

fore

(γ) Ἐπιτείνεσθω αὐτῷ ὁ ἀφορισμὸς. Post ista verba in impressis hæc leguntur, ὡς ψευσαμένῳ καὶ ἀπατήσαντι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Θεῶν. Legit etiam Joh. Antiochenus in Coll. can. tit. 18. & Dionysius exiguus vertit, ut qui mentitus est, & Ecclesiam Dei seduxit. Item Aristenus, ut ex ejus interpretatione patet. Utrum Balsamon & Zonaras legerint, incertum est, cum neuter eorum istiusmodi clausulæ meminit: unde potius non legisse videntur. Certe in Manuscripto Bodleiano desiderantur, & in Codice quem transtulit Gentianus Hervetus, nec non in Harmenopuli Epitome, Sect. 2. tit. 3. vide Bev. in Can.

fore suspended, let the Time of his Suspension be lengthened, because he hath lied to or deceived the Church of God.' The Canon says, *ἀνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, sine literis systaticis, or commendatory Letters, (z)* as they call them, which were of great Use and Service in the Church. For no strange Clergyman was to be admitted so much as to communicate, much less to officiate, without these Letters of his Bishop, in any Church where he was a perfect Stranger, for fear of *surreptitious* or *passive Communion*, as the Canon calls it. For thus runs the Canon: *Clericus vel Laicus non communicet in alienâ plebe, sine literis Episcopi sui. Nisi hoc observatum fuerit, communicatio fiet passiva. Con. Carth. 1. c. 7.* And Bishops were under the same Obligation to take Letters of their Metropolitan, if they had occasion to travel into a foreign Country where they could not otherwise be known. The third Council of *Carthage* has a Canon to this purpose: *Ut Episcopi trans mare non proficiscantur, nisi consulto (a) primæ sedis*

(z) This Union and Correspondence between Churches is in a Manner quite laid aside; every one forms its own Way of Worship and Policy without consulting any other; nay, one episcopal Church can look upon the Ruin of another without interposing a Prayer for its Recovery, as is done for the Welfare of other reformed Churches, and as is prescribed by the 55th Canon of the Church of England. The late Mr. *Snell* had the Welfare of the Church of Scotland so much at Heart, that he gave a Mortification for four Scots Exhibitioners in *Baliol-College*, in *Oxford*, for the Propagation of Episcopacy in Scotland, which being now abolished there by Act of Parliament, that Use is for the present become impracticable; and his Heirs, who sued for it in the High Court of Chancery in *Westminster-hall*, offered to give sufficient Security, that whenever the Use should become practicable the Mortification should be applied to it. But the Court would not suffer that. There must be no compounding or jesting with God; what is once mortified to his Service must not revert: and the Exhibitioners are now maintained in *Baliol-College*, tho' the Use for which Mr. *Snell* did design it is at present impracticable.

(a) In the *African Church* their Metropolitans retained the ancient Title of *primæ sedis Episcopi*; Titles of secular Grandeur, and favouring too much of absolute Sovereignty and Dominion, being expressly prohibited by the 26th Canon of the 3d Council of *Carthage*: *Ut primæ sedis Episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus*

sedis Episcopo, ut ab Episcopo præcipue (lege præcipuo) possint sumere formatam sive commendationem. Con. Carth. 3. c. 7.

‘ That no Bishop should go beyond Sea without consulting the Primate of his Province, that he might have his *Formata* or *Letters of Commendation*.’ These *Litera formata* are frequently mentioned by St. Cyprian, and particularly in his 45th Epistle to Cornelius: *Nam satis erat ut tu te Episcopum factum (b) literis nunciare.* These were Letters of Communion sent by every Bishop upon his Accession to the Episcopal Throne to all the Bishops in his Reach, from them to be communicated to others, and so to procure their Acknowledgments of him in that Character. Where there was no Dispute about the Regularity of the Election, these Letters produced their desired Acknowledgments from the Bishops they were sent to; but where there was any Controversy, the Course was to suspend the Answer to those Letters till due Enquiry could be made. And thus Communion was maintained between distant Churches. I shall

summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum prima sedis Episcopus. ‘ That the Bishop of the prime See be not called Prince of the Bishops, or supreme Bishop, or by any such Name, but Bishop of the prime See.’ And this Honour was ambulatory, (*Carthage* only excepted, the Bishop whereof was the Patriarch or Primate of *Africa*;) and not fix’d to any See; yet from the Canons and constant Practice of that Church it appears, that the Authority of those Prelates in their Synods was ever esteemed final and in short the same that the Church of *England* ascribed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(b) [*Episcopum factum literis nunciare.*] *Literis* nimirum communicatorijs quas Episcopi omnes post electionem suam vicinis Ecclesijs de more miserunt. Unde ludit Operam Pamelius qui hinc præ-eminentiam Romani pontificis nobis commendat, ut doctissimus Fell Episcopus non ita pridem Oxoniensis in locum observavit: The most learned Mr. *Dodwell*’s 2d Dissertation on St. Cyprian is concerning these Words: (*Ep. 9. Oxon.*) *Me in iisdem literis & scriptura, & sensus, & charta ipsa, moverunt.* Here he shews how the true *Litera Formata* might be distinguished from the Counterfeits which the Christians then made use of. These were the Writing, that is, the Hand or some private Marks concerted betwixt them, as also from the Folds and indenting of the Paper, as they had their *Symbola Hospitij*, Tokens whereby they might discern whether they were recommended by their Friends to be entertained as Guests: So also leaving the Beginning of their Epistles abrupt.

I shall now beg leave to assign the Reason why these *Litteræ Formate* were discontinued. That which *Anno* 680 divided the Eastern and Western Churches was the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, which seems rather a Branch of the *Eutychian* Heresy, or that Heresy in another Dress, rather than a new and distinct Opinion. *Eutyches* Abbot of the Monastery at *Constantinople* about the middle of the fifth Century, destroyed the distinct Properties of the divine and human Nature of Christ, and with Obstinacy persisted therein; but that Heresy falling under the Censure of the Council of *Chalcedon* during the Life of *Eutyches*, made no great Progress in the World. But out of the Ashes of that Heresy, arose that of the *Monothelites*, about the Middle of the seventh Century, which by asserting one Will and Operation in Christ, did at least in the Consequence of it destroy the Distinction of Natures, for which Reason, as I (c) think *Bede* in his Preamble to the Council of *Hatfield* speaks of the Heresy best known by that of the *Monothelites* under the Name of the *Eutychian* Heresy; but to let pass the Original of this Error, about the Middle of this Century, the Heresy of the *Monothelites* begun to spread itself in the Church, and prevailed so far, that *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus* and *Paul*, successively Bishops of *Constantinople*, and *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome*, and many of the leading Men of the Eastern Church fell into this Error, and *Theodore* at this Time Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Mucarias* Patriarch of *Antioch*, together with many of their Clergy, were great Favourers of it; and this interrupted the ancient Method to preserve the Unity of the Church by Epistles, (d) containing a Confession of Faith sent from
new

(c) Inett's Orig. Anglic. Vol. 1. p. 104, 105.

(d) These Epistles are likewise called *Synodica* by *Liberatus Carthaginensis* in his *Breviarium sive Historia Cause Nestoriana & Eutychiana*, who says, this Custom of every new Bishop's giving Intimation of his own Promotion to those of his Order was so necessary, that the Omission of it was interpreted a Sort of refusal to hold Communion with the rest of the World, and a virtual Charge of Heresy upon them: For the Church, though very early spread over
great

new advanced Bishops to the Patriarchs and other eminent Bishops of the Church as well as from the Bishops of *Rome* to those of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem*, as on the contrary : And these Letters being thus reciprocal, a common Friendship and Communion were preserved, but for the Reasons above, this Course ceasing about this Time not only put a Stop to the Intercourse between the Eastern and Western Churches, but it made so wide a Breach betwixt them, that some Eastern Bishops petitioned the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus*, that the Names of the Bishops of *Rome* might be left out of the Dypsticks of the Church, and particularly the Name of *Vitalian*, by whom *Theodore* was sent into *Britain*.

I fear I have trespassed too much on the Reader's Patience, but as in the Question concerning popular Elections, a Recourse to Antiquity was unavoidable (*Enquire I pray thee, of the former Age, and prepare thy self to the Search of their Fathers. For we are but of Yesterday and know nothing, because our Days upon Earth are a Shadow. Shall not they teach thee and tell thee, and utter Words out of their Heart. Job. 8. 8. 9. 10.*) I am in hopes, that the several References to Antiquity, will be a Means to convince our younger Brethren and Students in the University, how necessary the Knowledge of the primitive Fathers and Ecclesiastical History is to the Decision of Controversy. Our Church I am sure points to Antiquity, in the Question so necessary to be decided, whether Christ founded his Church in an Imparity of Ministers. For in the Preface (e) to her Manner of making, ordaining,

great Part of the World, yet continu'd one and the same; the principal Bishops of it held Communion with each other by Letters, which Communion was a Means either to prevent or to detect any Deviation from the common Faith. By this Means Christianity was not regulated by the philosophical Opinions or popular Superstitions of any Country wherein it was planted, but was uniform and the same every where.

(e) See Dr. *Nichols's* Comment on the Preface to the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons she says, ' It is evident unto all Men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles Time, there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' Now, I appeal to any unprejudiced Person, whether this Method which our Church takes of having recourse to Antiquity, be not most proper to decide the Matter in Debate. I know 'tis become modish with some modern Divines to run down the Fathers as being fallible Men, yet in my Opinion, their Fallibility does not in the least affect their Authority in such Cases for which we chiefly depend upon them. For, is there any Consequence in this Way of Reasoning, because the Fathers have been sometimes mistaken in Matters of pure Reasoning, as the wisest and best Men sometimes may be, therefore they are not to be credited in plain Matters of Fact wherein they cannot be mistaken? For of all Controversies, this of Ecclesiastical Polity may, (as Mr. *Reeves* (f) well observes) be as easily decided as any. For a Form of Government being an Object of Sense, tho' Men may differ in their Judgment about the Meaning of Laws, yet cannot they differ so much in their Eye Sight, as to mistake a Monarchy for a Commonwealth. Church-Government then being an Object of Sense, wherein the Meaning of Scripture is the Point in Debate, what fairer Way of trying this Cause, than by the general Sense and Practice (g) of the Christian Church in and immediately after

(f) See his Preface concerning the right Use of the Fathers, p. 16.

(g) *Autoritatis præcipuus usus est ad retundendam hæreticorum & impostorum audaciam qui clarissimis scripturæ testimonijs tenebras offundunt, earumque vim distinctiunculis & subtilitatibus suis eludunt. Quibus non opportunius os obturabitur aut saltem vosmet ipsos aliosque ab ipsorum contagione illæsos efficacius conservabitis, quam si judicium & praxin non unius, aut paucorum hominum, non unius anguli, aut sæculi Ecclesiæ, sed Catholicæ (hoc est diffusæ per totum Orbem) omnium locorum & temporum Ecclesiæ, ipsorum strophis & sophismatis opponatis. Sic olim præci illi fidei Christianæ advocati, Irenæus, Tertullianus, Vincentius, reliqui præscriptionis*

after the Times of the Apostles? Nor can the contending Parties refuse joining Issue upon these Terms. For those who admit the Canon of Scripture upon the Testimony of the Fathers, will find themselves hard put to't for a Reason, why they reject the same Testimony (*b*) in the Case of Church-Government. For certainly, whether Bishops were superior to Presbyters, was a Matter of Fact full as notorious,

præscriptionis jure cum adversarijs agendum judicarunt: quod quantum orbi Christiano profuerit eventus docuit. *Sanders Praelec. de Oblig. Consc. Praelec. 4.*

(*b*) You are not able to produce better Evidence for this, that such a Gospel (*e. g.* St. Mark's,) such an Epistle (*e. g.* St. James's or St. Jude, or any other you please,) ought to be embraced as Part of the sacred Canon, than we produce for the apostolick Institution of Episcopacy. For this there is of bright Evidence a great deal, even in the genuine apostolical Monuments, from which, at the same Time, no Evidence can be squeezed for the Canonicalness of the named Gospel or Epistle. Enquire deliberately into the Matter when you will, and you shall not find that the canonical Books were separated from the apocryphal till after the Decease of all the Apostles, that is, till the second Century: Nay, 'tis known some Books were not universally received in the third. Our Belief therefore of this, that such or such a Book is canonical, must of Necessity depend on the Skill, Credit, and Integrity, of those who outlived the Apostles, that flourished in the second Century. Now I dare boldly challenge our Adversaries to produce as many Testimonies of those who lived in the second Century for the Canonicalness of any Gospel or Epistle, as we produce for the apostolical Institution of Episcopacy. The Truth is, Episcopacy hath on its Side the fuller and clearer Evidence. Books were not received into the Canon at random, but as being written by Persons divinely inspired. Now they could be but few in comparison of those who could not but understand the Form of Church Government instituted by the Apostles. Who could immediately know that such Books were written by such Persons? This could only fall to the Share of those who were present with the Apostles or Evangelists when they wrote, or those particular Churches to whom they wrote, or those who knew their Hands, or so: But to have those Advantages did not fall to the Share of one of 4000 of those who could not open their Eyes and look about them without perceiving what Form of Government they lived under. Who sees not that 'tis much easier to prove that James VI. and Charles I. were Kings of Scotland, and that in their Days the Form of Government was monarchical, than that the one was the Author of Βασιλικὴν Δάσιν, and the other of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. See the Reasonableness of Toleration enquired into, &c. p. 161, 162.

torious, as whether such and such, were the Writings of the Apostles. Nay, I may say more notorious, for the Superiority of Bishops was visible to all, no one Christian could be ignorant of it, and therefore there could be no need of a general Council to define the Form of Church Government, as there was to settle the Canon of Scripture.

It must be confessed, that learned Men have variously reasoned upon the Subject of Episcopacy; according to their several Byasses and Prepossessions; but I cannot, for my Life, believe, that if the original Evidences were open to our People, any Numbers could ever be persuaded, that the first Settlement of the Christian Church, was in the Way of Parity, or by teaching and ruling Presbyters. When these Things are taken at second-hand from Writers who have espoused one Side, and resolved to employ their Wit and Leisure in defending it, the unlearned Reader is soon imposed upon, and a little Byass easily perverts him. But let him peruse St. *Ignatius*, St. *Cyprian* instead of *Blondel*, *Salmasius*, *Daille*, or Mr. *Clarkson*, and it will not be possible, that he should be so abused afterwards, without a good deal of his own Consent to it.

Our *English Cyprian* Arch-Bishop *Land*, when Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, turn'd the Bent of their Studies from modern Polemicks, and reading the *Dutch* and *German* Systems of Divinity to learn downwards, and from the first Beginning of Christianity, to acquaint themselves with the Fathers in the several Ages to our Times whereby they would be able to judge of the noval Disputes of the Remonstrants, Anti-Remonstrants, *Supralapsarians* and *Sublapsarians*, &c. which then tormented the Reformation in *Germany* and *Holland*, and wherein we likewise took Part. And that famous University (together with her Sister of *Cambridge*, which took the same Method) reap to this Day the Benefit of these pious Instructions of her learned Chancellor, which has given them that deserved Reputation all over *Europe*, for their great Knowledge and Exactness in Antiquity, (i)
and

(i) Archbishop *Land* never failed to reward Men who excelled in the

and the primitive Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and teaching us to derive our Faith from its first Fountain and Original, and to go higher up than *Luther* and *Calvin*. For want of which the Church of *Rome* has gained great Advantage against her less learned Opposers.

S 2

Primate

the Knowledge of Antiquity. He obtained the Deanry of *Litchfield*, and afterwards the Bishoprick of *Peterborough*, for Dr. *Augustine Lyndsell*, a very solid Divine, and a learned Linguist, to whom the Christian World remains indebted for *Theophylact's Comment on the Epistles*, and the *Catena upon Job*, published by him in Greek and Latin. Dr. *Augustine Lyndsell* was, A. D. 1633, translated to the See of *Hereford*, and prepared for the Press the *Greek Fathers*, and left the Manuscript with his Chaplain, Dr. *Thomas Baily*, enjoining him to deliver them to the then Archbishop (Dr. *Laud*) to be disposed of as he in his Wisdom should think fit. Dr. *Baily*, according to the Will of his deceased Patron, carry'd them to *Lambeth*, and presented them to the Archbishop; the Archbishop knowing the Man and his Work, received him, as he did all learned and industrious Men, very kindly and affectionately; and as Token of his Esteem, bestowed on him the Parsonage of *Bradsted* in *Kent*, worth about 200 *l. per Annum*, and required him to take all imaginable Care about the Editions of the *Greek Fathers*, which he readily and cheerfully undertook; but he being sequestred, and the Archbishop under Troubles, could not go on with that useful Work; however he made shift to publish *Theophylact*, and dedicated it to his Patron the Archbishop, A. D. 1660. Dr. *Baily* was made Dean of *Down* in *Ireland*, and afterwards, in the Year 1664, upon the Death of Bishop *Hall*, by King *Charles II.* Bishop of *Killalla* and *Achonry*, as a Reward for his Sufferings and signal Loyalty to him and his Royal Father. By the Interest of Archbishop *Laud* the Prebend of *Biggleswade*, in *Lincoln*, was bestowed upon Mr. *Jeremiah Stephens*, who assisted the most learned Sir *Henry Spelman* in the Edition of the Councils. He likewise procured for Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton* (a Man of infinite reading, an excellent *Gracian* in those Days, and one whom *Savil* made great Use of in his *Greek Edition* of St. *Chrysostom's* Works) a Prebend of *Windfor*, and to hold the same, by special Dispensation, with his Place in *Eaton*. Mr. *John Hales* had been Fellow of *Merton College* in *Oxford*, where he was *Greek Professor*, before he was Fellow of *Eaton* and Prebend of *Windfor*, Chaplain to Sir *Dudley Carleton* at the Synod of *Dort*, a Person of Judgment and Capacity hardly to be equal'd. Such Men did Archbishop *Laud* prefer; and converted 22 Persons of Note from Popery, as he pleaded at his Tryal, where they are all named. He furnished the Library of *Oxford* with 1300 *Hebrew*, *Arabick*, and *Persian* Manuscripts, with choice Antiquities, and established Professors of those Tongues in that University, which had never been before; procured new Statutes

Primate *Usher* (of whom the University of *Dublin* (k) has reason to boast as her first Fruits) being once importuned by a learned Man to give some Directions in writing for the Advancement of solid and useful Learning, as well sacred as prophane, said it might be thus performed,

1st. By learned Notes and Illustrations on the Bible.

2dly. By censuring and enquiring into the ancient Councils and Works of the Fathers.

3dly. By orderly writing and digesting Ecclesiastical History.

4thly. By gathering together whatsoever may concern the State of the Jews, from the Destruction of *Jerusalem* to this present Age.

5thly. By collecting all the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories, and digesting them into a Body. And to effect all this he proposed that the most ingenious and studious Men of both Universities being prefer'd to Prebends in Cathedral Churches, should be enjoined and amply encouraged to prosecute this Design, for the Advancement of this most profitable Learning; and how much the Lord Primate desired the Performance of these so useful Works, appears by what he had long since recommended to the University of *Oxford*, touching the revising the Works of the ancient

tutes for it with larger Privileges than the old; built a Court in *St. John's College*; repaired *St. Paul's* at a vast Expence; bought divers *Commendams* and *fine Cures*, and settled them on the small Bishopricks of *Bristol*, *Peterborough*, *St. Asaph*, *Chester*, and *Oxford*, to augment them; procured a new Charter for *Reading*, where he also erected an Hospital, and endowed it with 200 *l. per Annum*; and recovered hundreds of Improvements in *Ireland*, to the great Encouragement of the Clergy of that Nation; with many other good Deeds to the Church and State; which being looked upon with an evil and envious Eye, brought upon him the Hatred of such Men as at length completed his Destruction.

(k) Queen *Elizabeth's* Charter for the Foundation of the University of *Dublin* beareth Date the 30th of *March*. 1592, and Sir *William Cecil*. Lord High Treasurer of *England*, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, was the first Chancellor thereof; *Adam Loftus*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, the first Provost; *Lucas Chaloner*, *William Daniel*, *James Fullerton*, and *James Hamilton*, the first Fellows; *James Usher*, *Abel Walsh*, and *James Lee*, the first Scholars of the same.

ancient Fathers of the Church. What his Design was in this kind, the Reader may judge by this Passage in a Letter written 1626, recommending this Design to the University of Oxford, which I shall here insert.

— — — ‘ The Business of revising the ancient Fathers Works in *Latin* (so long projected and so many Years followed by Dr. (l) *James*) ‘ I do greatly approve, and ‘ judge it to be (as the Times now are, and the Books ‘ printed at *Cologne* and elsewhere) most necessary, tending ‘ to the Honour of this famous University, the Benefit of ‘ them shall be employed therein, and the great good of the ‘ Church; and if the Heads of the University would be ‘ pleased or might be entreated to encourage and employ ‘ some of their young Divines herein, whereof I see so ‘ great a Store (and some I have found very painful in another Kind) I shall think my self greatly honoured by this ‘ University (as I confess I have been very much already) ‘ if by my Means they may be the rather encouraged to ‘ the Performance of this great Work.

Primate *Usher* himself made vast Collections from the Greek and Latin (m) Fathers in order to compleat his Theological

(l) It was a noble Project, and had been a great Charity and Ease to Posterity in the Study of Christian Antiquity, had it taken effect, the Proposal, I mean of Dr. *Tho. James* to the most learned Primate of *Ireland*, to employ a select Company of both Universities, with due Assistance and Encouragement to make an accurate Collection of that and that only, which is true and certain in the primitive History and Councils. Something of this kind has been performed by several learned Men both at home and abroad, but no single Person is equal to such a Work. See Mr. *Reeves's Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis's Commonitory*, p. 356, M. More upon this Subject may be likewise read in *Foulis's History of Romish Treasons*, l. 3. c. 1. p. 93, 94, 95.

(m) In libro quorundam Canonum Anno 1571. Sic scriptum legitur.
Concionatores,

Imprimis videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione quod a populo religiose teneri & credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinae veteris aut novi testamenti quodque ex illâ ipsâ doctrinâ catholici patres & veteres Episcopi collegerint.

A. D. 1616, King *James I.* by the Advice of such Bishops and others of the Clergy, as were then about him, on the 18th of *January*, dispatched Direction to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colleges

Theological *Bibliothèque*, intended for the use of those that mean to give themselves to that noble Study of the Doctrine and Rites of the ancient Church. And how much he desired it might be done, may farther appear, that

leges and Halls, the two Professors and the two Proctors of the University of *Oxford*, to be carefully and speedily put in execution. The 7th of which was;

That young Students in Divinity be directed to study such Books as be most agreeable in Doctrine and Discipline to the Church of *England*, and incited to bestow their Times in the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies, and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abreviatures, making them the Grounds of their Study in Divinity.

The Divines in King *Charles I.* Reign formed their Studies according to this Rule, and it produced this good Effect, That if the Sermons of those Times, preached at Court, were collected and published, the World would receive the best Bulk of Orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing Reason, natural powerful Eloquence, and admirable Devotion, that hath been communicated in any Age since the Apostles Time. And I cannot but say for the Honour of the King and of those who were trusted by him in his ecclesiastical Collations, (who have received but sad Rewards for their Uprightness,) in those reproached condemned Times there was not one Church-man in any Degree, or Favour, or Acceptance, (and this, the Inquisition that hath since been made upon them, a stricter never was in any Age, must confess,) of a scandalous Insufficiency in Learning, or of a more scandalous Condition of Life, but on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent Parts in Knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemished Lives. *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, Book 1. p. 77.

The late Dr. *Hicks*, in his prefatory Discourse in answer to the *Rights*, &c. p. 263, 264. says, ' I thought to have made a Parzenesis to the Candidates of the Priesthood and the younger Clergy not to begin their Studies in Divinity at the wrong End, especially with *Dutch* Systems, such as *Episcopius*, *Limborch*, or any of our Transcribers from them, but to study the apostolical Learning in a diligent Perusal of the *Greek* Testament, which ought to be read carefully two or three Times over, and then to proceed to the diligent reading of the apostolical Fathers, and after reading them to read all the Fathers and Provincial Councils to the first general Council of *Nice*, and the ecclesiastical Histories of *Eusebius*, *Sozomen*, *Crates*, and *Sozomen*. ' Did Students in Divinity take this Method in their Studies the Church would not suffer by so many *Latitudinarians* among her Divines, nor should we have so many strange and dangerous Assertions preached and printed, as were it not to reflect, I could shew in great Plenty have been published by Divines of great Parts

that being asked upon his Death-bed, what his Will was concerning these Collections? He answered to this Effect, that he desired they may be committed to his dear Friend Dr. *Langbaine* Provost of Queen's College, the only Man on whose Learning as well as Friendship he could rely, to cast them into such a Form, as might render them fit

Parts, and otherwise learned, I mean, in learning external to their Profession, but not in the ancient ecclesiastical Learning, which should be first studied by all Clergymen, that being well versed in their own Originals they may not take such Liberties of thinking or writing, or become such Indifferents as some are, and run into many Mistakes. But then if the Want of Books in the learned Languages or any other hard Circumstances, will not allow Students in Divinity to peruse those early and ancient Originals, then the next best Thing he can do, will be to read such Orthodox Divines of our own Church as fetch'd their Divinity from those Fountains; I mean such as *Jewel, Poinet, Mede, Downname, Laud, Montague, Hammond, Pearson, Thorndike, Bull, Beveridge, &c.* whose Writings will instruct and fix them in true Principles, and preserve them from that Latitude, otherwise called Largeness of Mind, which hath corrupted Divinity to such a deplorable Degree, as set Men free from the chief Doctrines of Christianity which relate to the Church as a Society or as a Sect. The same Method of studying Divinity was recommended by Bishop *Bull*, as Mr. *Nelson*, who wrote his Life, acquaints us, p. 235. — 37. 428.

The Rule and Method by which we went and guided ourselves in our Reformation was as good as was possible, Scripture, the Word of God, exactly and nicely examined, and especially as it is expounded by the primitive Church; and nothing was done or left undone but what was agreeable to both; and we still desire to be tried and judged by the Scripture, so interpreted by the Ancients: For if we in any Thing now differ from the Ancients, it is only in such small Things as they did differ in from one another without Breach of Unity, or in such Things as it is in the Power of every national Church to appoint or alter in reference to its own particular Cases and Circumstances: And so very well am I assured of this, that all I wou'd desire of the Enemies of our Church is, that they wou'd read the ancient Fathers, or first Christian Writers, especially in the first Ages of Persecution, and then desire them to judge according to the Rules by which the ancient Church proceeded; whether they do not in their Conscience think that those good and holy Men, if they had lived now would have maintained Communion with us and rejected Communion with them. And I dare be bound to stand to their own Verdict and Judgment. See the Faith and Practice of a Church of England Man, p. 88, 89.

fit for the Prefs. According to which Bequest, they were put into the Hands of that learned Doctor, who in order thereunto had them transcribed, and then set himself to fill up the Breaches in the Original, (the Quotations in the Margin being much defaced with Rats.) About which laborious Task, that learned and good Man studying in the publick Library at *Oxford* in a very severe Season, got such an extream Cold as quickly (to the great Grief of all good Men) brought him to his End. *Feb. Anno 1657.* So that tho' that excellent Person (Dr. *Fell* late Bishop of *Oxford*) who has deserved so well of Learning, has endeavoured to get these *Lacunæ* filled up, yet these Collections still remain unfit to be published, tho' the Transcript from the Original with the marginal Quotations and Additions are now in the *Bodleian* Library, as a lasting Monument of my Lord Primate's Learning and Industry, and may likewise be useful to those learned Persons for whom they were designed, who will take the Pains to consult them. But the Original of the Author's Hand Writing was lately in Possession of the Rev. and learned Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, Dean of *St. Paul's* late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*. The same Account we have from Dr. *Cave*, *Hist. Lit. Proleg.* Vol. 2. p. 7.

It could be wished, that the University of *Dublin*, who for the Encouragement of Learning, received a considerable Benefaction from their Vice-Chancellor Dr. *John Stearne*, Lord Bishop of *Clogher*, to build a Printing-House, (which, I hear is now finished) and a Font of Greek Types from Dr. *George Berkley*, Lord Bishop of *Cloyne*, would imitate the Example of this their first Student; for then our Church would be always filled with Learned, Orthodox, and Pious Divines.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 4. in the Note, 1. penult. for Dr. *Peter Rundle*, read Dr. *Thomas Rundell* 69. 1. 3. for for the Suffrages x. by the Suffrages

